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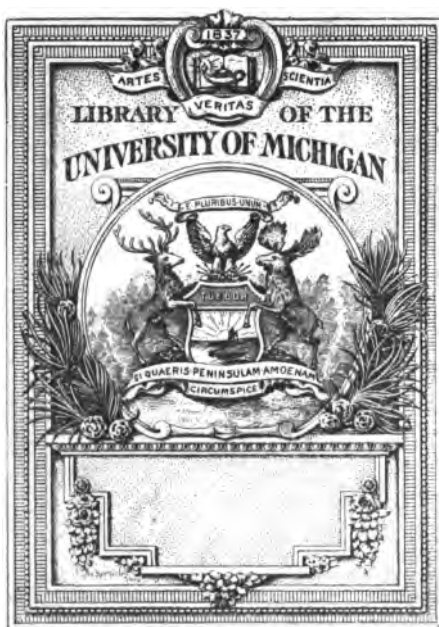
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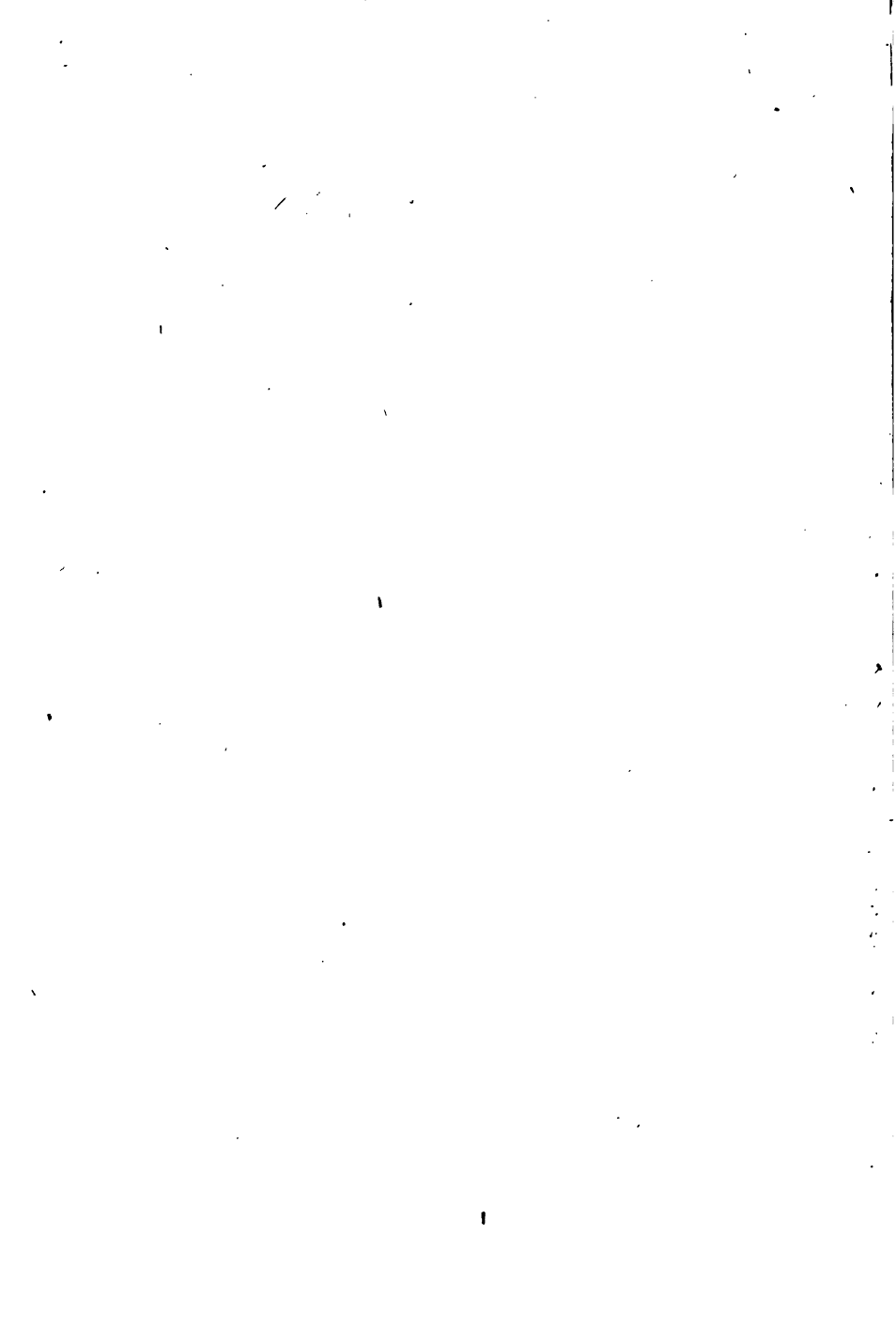
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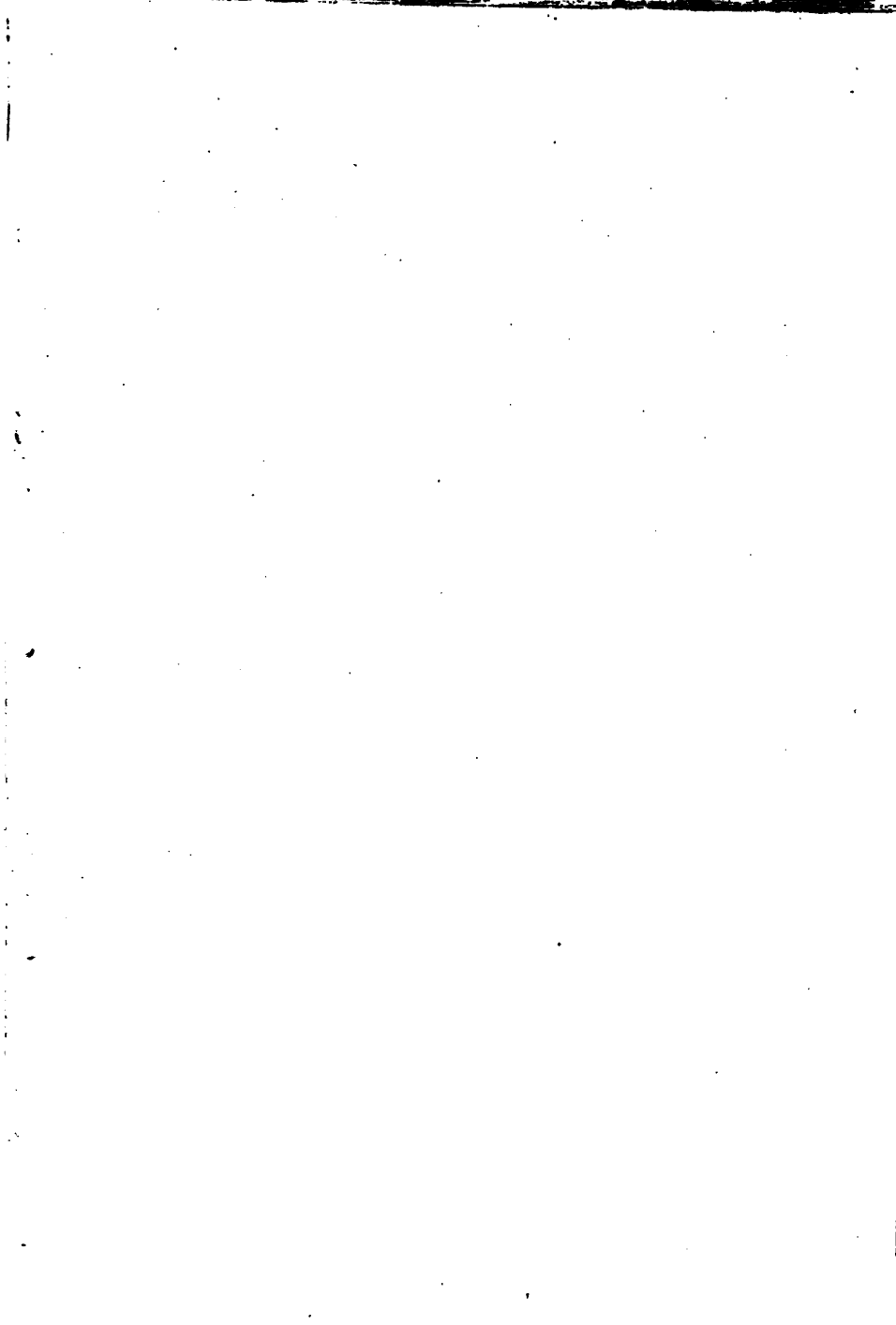
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**SOCIALISM AS THE
SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAL**



SOCIALISM AS THE SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAL

A Broader Basis for Socialism

BY

FLOYD J. MELVIN, PH.D.

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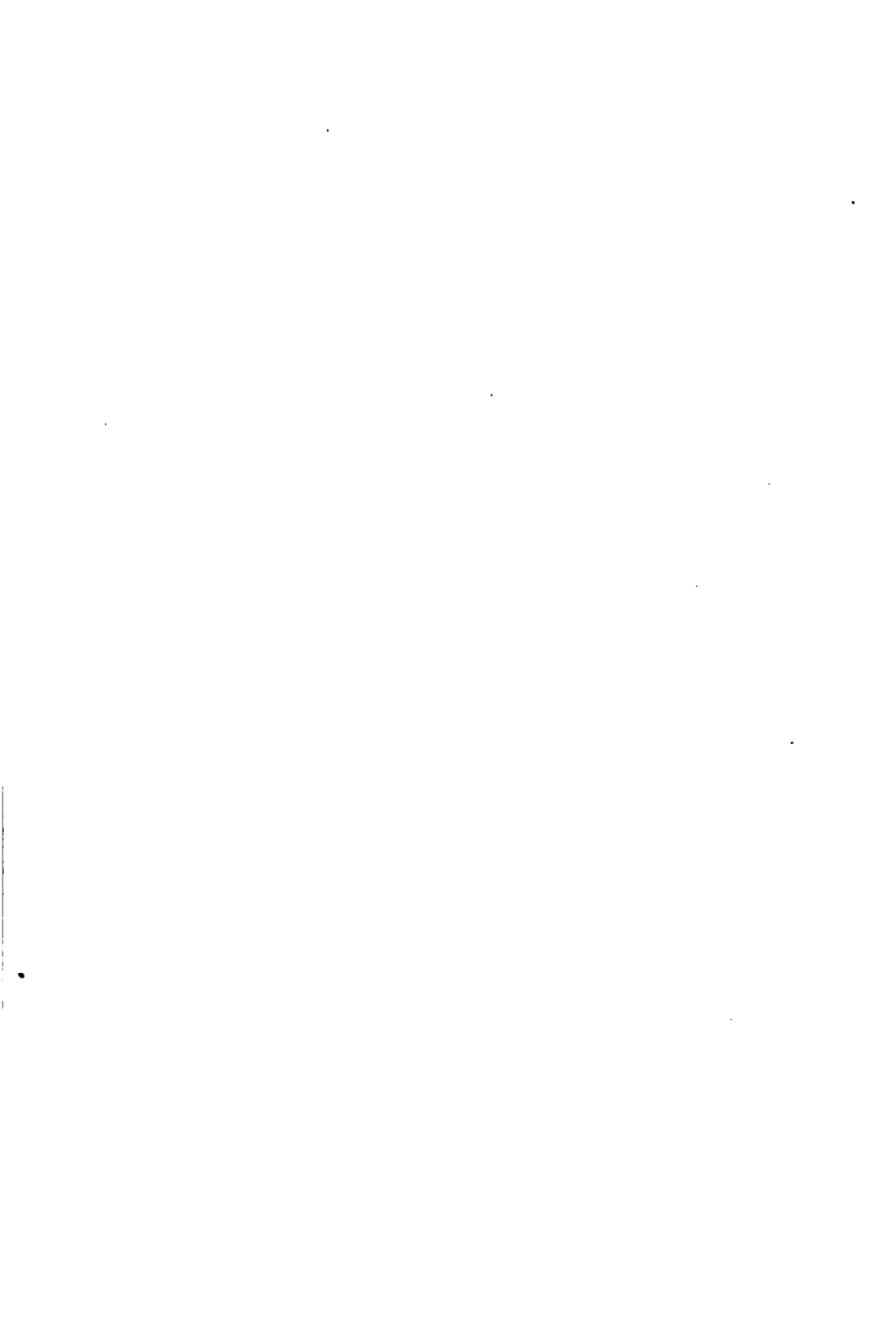
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**TO MY WIFE AND COMRADE
EVA ERNST MELVIN**

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PREFACE

This study has grown out of an attempt to formulate a generic definition of socialism. Descriptive definitions there are a plenty, but these have the obvious shortcomings of all descriptive definitions. They seem to present little that can be set up as the norm to which all variations in the socialist movement can be traced. They are naturally not in entire agreement for their terms will vary according as one or another aspect of socialism is stressed. The unfortunate result of this is that all discussions of socialism tend to degenerate into controversy about the meaning of the term itself, and not infrequently lead to the most absurd assertions about what socialists want to do.

In order to clear up this confusion it has seemed necessary to seek for the fundamental basis of the socialist movement, its grounds or causes in the general social situation. Instead of basing the socialist system on the formal and rather materialistic science of economics, *a la* Marx, an attempt has been made to deduce the social system required and ordered by the more general science of sociology. Nevertheless it is

PREFACE

believed that the whole is in line with the teaching of the best socialists of all periods, and that although the subject is approached from an entirely different and apparently hitherto neglected point of vantage, the conclusions of "scientific socialism" are for the most part simply brought up to date and interpreted in modern terms.

That this attempt may prove of value in leading the many earnest students of social problems to realize the real nature of the socialist movement is the hope of the writer.

FLOYD J. MELVIN.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

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All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority.

MARX: *The Communist Manifesto*.

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organisation. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the domination and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organisation. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organisation, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history, pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history — only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom. . . . Man, at last the master of his own form of social organisation, becomes at the same time lord over Nature, his own master — free.

FREDERICK ENGELS, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

In Socialistic society, when mankind will be placed upon a natural basis, and will be truly free, man will consciously guide his own development. In all preceding epochs, man acted in regard to production and distribution, and in regard to the increase of population, without any knowledge of their underlying laws; he, therefore, acted unconsciously. In the new society man will act consciously and methodically, knowing the laws of his own development. Socialism is science applied to all realms of human activity.

AUGUST BEBEL, *Woman and Socialism*.

**SOCIALISM AS THE
SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAL**

SOCIALISM AS THE SOCIOLOGICAL IDEAL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE question as to the proper relation between the individual and the state has always been a matter of much speculation both to philosophers and to practical men of affairs. An inquiry into the subject can hardly be avoided by the student of economics on the one hand nor by the student of ethics on the other; while those portions of social and political science lying in between have the various aspects of this question as their subject matter.

Just how much does individual character, initiative, ideals, etc., depend upon the structure and functions of the state in which the individual happens to be born? What is the relation between individual morality and social righteousness? Character, as we know, depends much on the give and take of the individual in society; and the structure of the state affects the

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society which is one of the factors. Individual responsibility may be lessened or increased at the mandate of the state. To the unthinking masses, including oftentimes the managers of "big business," the statute law determines the right or wrong of an act as well as the end of action itself. For as life is the constant adaptation of the individual to the environment, it is evident that the social environment as embraced in statutes calls for further and further readaptation on the part of the individual continually. Moreover the individual finds his larger self more or less adequately expressed in the state. The welfare of the state is hence a matter of direct personal concern. Patriotism thus becomes an end in itself. But at the same time the citizen feels justified in calling upon the state to assist him in his private enterprises. The idea of paternalism thus evoked justly excites alarm, for a citizenry seeking private aid from the state is the very reverse of patriotic.

Yet the state exists for and by virtue of the individuals who compose its citizenship. Certain it is that the individual does not exist for the state, though there is danger in the opposite conception of the state for the individual. It is perhaps in the combined conception that the balance is struck, best expressed in the maxim,—"Each for all and all for each," with the final

emphasis on the individual as the object of all social endeavour.

In the light of these reflections it is odd that socialism has been accused of both tendencies — toward the tyranny of the state and toward the over-indulgence of the citizens. The truth lies to one side of the whole controversy, as we may see by the most cursory investigation.

There is amazingly little necessity for government of persons if we have an all-embracing administration of things. Things are administered, under our present system of government, by persons acting in their individual capacity. The person is prohibited by law from certain acts relating to property, but otherwise *things* enter but incidentally into the present accepted province of government. Governing itself is of course a business and as such calls for some income and disbursement, but in this way only does government enter the sphere of the administration of things. It is chiefly occupied in checking the undesirable activities of persons. But if the administration of things is left entirely in private hands the privilege will naturally be continually abused, thus calling for further repressive laws continually. This is awkwardly trying to get at things through persons, an inefficient plan of procedure. We confer powers upon the individual that he is certain to abuse and then

devise strict laws for his punishment. The socialist plan is quite different. Under socialism, says Engels, "the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production."¹

Socialism is, however, rather a form of social organisation than a definite plan of administration. It does not lay down a specific method of conducting each social activity, but rather provides the means by which that control is to be exercised. It may indeed be said to offer the social application of that idealism which has followed as a reaction to the realism of the latter half of the 19th Century. There is for instance the ideal of economic justice. But this is rather inherent in the nature of the means provided than a principle of action. For if any maladjustment of economic justice be made to fall on those in whose power it is to remedy it, we may suppose that the remedy will be promptly forthcoming. Then there is the ideal of social equality; but this again is only more possible of realisation under socialism, not more necessary to it. Lastly there is the ideal of the emancipation of woman, which is no integral part of the socialist doctrine, but which might naturally be expected for the first time to receive adequate consideration. For all of these ideals socialism

¹ "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," pp. 128-129.

stands as a convenient means, and socialists more or less avow their individual intention of embodying them in the institutions of the socialist state.

And indeed were it not for these preconceived ideals socialism would possess no appeal to the people at large. It is through these concrete instances of the sociological ideal that socialism derives its strength in the support of common public sentiment.

Sociologically considered socialism is that form of social organisation which tends to extend the field of social control to all matters directly affecting society as a whole. This would mainly be to embrace the control of industry, which is the largest field remaining conspicuously under the sway of anarchy; but ultimately to cover all matters affecting either environment or heredity. It is society acting as an organised unit rather than as an agglomeration of unorganised individuals. In order to act thus it must first be organised in appropriate form, and secondly it must be informed with purposes sufficiently common to permit of concerted action.

A certain degree of civilisation is necessary that these conditions may obtain. But this has long since been reached and socialism has been delayed chiefly by the machinations of the privileged classes, possessing most of the power of

the world. These have been able to maintain their supremacy so long because of several reasons. They have provided that the exceptional man might rise into their own class, thus allying the natural leaders of revolt with themselves. They have appealed to the gambling instinct by which the present system has appeared desirable on account of the rich prizes which a few have been permitted to obtain. They have prostituted their superior culture and means to delude and mislead and deceive the masses. Finally they have thoughtlessly maintained a system which they found ready made and which so admirably suited their own needs. (Much of the lack of social progress is attributable solely to inertia.)

Until the establishment of democracy there was nothing that could properly be called just government. Previous governments were natural tyranny, gained and maintained by force or intrigue from an authority external to the people. Real government as opposed to tyranny arose with democracy and extended only so far as the preservation of order, was negative rather than positive, and allowed much anarchy even in politics and still more in industry and society. The lack of popular confidence derived doubtless from experience with former tyrannical governments is well stated in the maxim: "That government is best which governs least."

Shall this natural tyranny be displaced by a government from below? For tyranny is always presumed by its apologists to be a government from above. But democracy need not mean rule by the inferior. It involves the many only as the jury before whom are argued those questions which affect the general welfare. It is sharply to be distinguished from the ochlocracy, wherein persons of ability and talent are allowed no opportunity to exert their due influence upon the common mind. It may be objected that this opportunity is sure to be taken advantage of by the demagogue. The reply is that the demagogue must be met on his own ground, and conquered. He is the *enfant terrible* of democracy. But democracy is desirable in spite of him, for it is the only escape from the otherwise intolerable evils of despotism.

Furthermore socialism is not merely a working class movement but a movement to abolish all classes. It is working class only so far as the working class has most to gain by such an outcome. It is working class largely only because all movements for securing social justice for the oppressed must spring from the oppressed themselves. It does not even mean that the leaders must come from the working class, but merely that every proposed measure must be continually referred to them for approval.

Socialism is broader than its immediate object, the social control of industry. We must press on and inquire from the socialist why society should control industry. He would probably reply: in the interests of social justice, to avoid social despotism, to prevent the enslavement of the workers, to bring about the brotherhood of man, etc. Throughout all of this we may note his abounding idealism, his devotion to the cause and his faith in its ultimate triumph. This is not the aspect of men who are seeking merely material ends. It has much of the positive zeal of a religious faith.

It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that man will rest content with creature comforts once more is within his grasp. It is a libel on human nature to claim as much. Socialism is as wide as man's aspirations. Its aims must be those of our common humanity. Hence, as has often been said, socialism is as strong as the strongest presentation that can be made of it. It is the writer's contention that there is much implied in it that is not insisted upon by its usual advocates; in fact, that its full content is nothing less than the summation of all conscious plans for the betterment of society. It is the actual application to society in a practical way of the conclusions of scientific sociology,—the embodiment of *the sociological ideal*.

CHAPTER II

VARIOUS DEFINITIONS CONSIDERED

THE term socialism, as commonly used, has a signification of so general a nature that all attempt at exact definition must at first seem futile.

The various propagandas of this movement present as great a diversity of doctrines as has ever been upheld by the various sects of Christians, in ancient or modern times. But socialism, like Christianity, has a central integrating principle, by virtue of which it possesses a working unity and the power to incorporate new elements of social policy. It is not, as too commonly supposed, a merely accidental agglomeration of those social forces tending toward a "social revolution."

It takes its rise from a single great sociological cause and embraces only those demands for social readjustment that spring from that source. Nor should we attribute any significance whatever to the propensity of the indiscriminating to group together as socialistic all plans for social amelioration arising from "the social un-

rest," for among these are included such unsocialistic schemes of social procedure as that of anarchy on the one hand and that of Christian communism on the other. It is clearly distinguished from the former by the critical comment of Guthrie in *Socialism before the French Revolution*,—"For the anarchist, the betterment of society depends primarily upon the betterment of the individual, while for the socialist the betterment of the individual depends primarily upon the betterment of society."² And it is no less clearly distinguished from the latter by the assertion of Dr. Vedder in *Socialism and the Ethics of Jesus*,—"The socialist would transform man's environment, hoping that this would work a change in man himself; Jesus would transform man, and leave him to deal with his environment."³ These remarks serve indeed to point out a certain similarity between the two proposals as well as to distinguish both from socialism. The movement which we are to consider is extremely broad, but it does not embrace all plans for social regeneration. We shall do well therefore to define socialism first by contrast with other projected forms or principles of social action, and follow this by an examination of its sociological basis in order to arrive at a generic definition of this most baffling subject of inquiry.

² p. 17.

³ p. 383.

Proceeding then to a consideration of the meaning of the term socialism from a negative point of view, we may first note that it has quite frequently been held to be opposed to individualism. Particularly have writers of a philosophical turn of mind been prone to adopt this view, and in some cases they have held it to be the very negation of individualism.

This charge, as put forward by Prof. Ely or by Dr. Lyman Abbott, for instance, seems to be based on the assumption that under socialism society must be considered to be of the nature of the organism. This is a serious charge if true. For in the organism all significant individuality is denied to the constituent parts. Each cell or member of the organism exists solely for the sake of the whole, in which summation of parts alone is to be found true personality. The citizen exists for the state. In the organisation the contrary principle applies. Each part or factor finds its purpose and personality inherent in itself. It enters into relations with its fellows solely for mutual aid and convenience. The whole exists simply to minister to its parts. The state exists for the citizen. If the socialist state is an organism rather than an organisation then we must consider that the principle of individualism would suffer eclipse on the advent of socialism. But if on the contrary its nature is

that of the organisation, then no such opposition is entailed.

Now the essential nature of any existing or proposed state is clearly betrayed as either organism or organisation by its form of government. Since the organism requires that all significant individuality be reserved for the whole, denying it to the parts, we shall find that the governing or sovereign power is exercised as a whole, and naturally enough that this may be the more efficiently done we find it delegated to specialised parts of the organism. Such is the brain or other higher nervous centres in animals, and such are aristocracies and oligarchies in the political state. In these states as in all creations of the nature of the organism, significant individuality is denied to the parts, even the specialised governing nobility itself being bound to consider the good of the whole rather than its own, according to the code of *noblesse oblige*.

On the other hand the organisation is characterised by true democratic government. Each individual member is as a personality more significant than the ensemble; hence he requires that his will as a significant entity be taken into consideration in the conduct of the whole. This can be accomplished only through democracy. And where the individual will does affect the con-

duct of the whole in due measure, there only is to be found the real democracy.

Now while socialism proper insists upon the democratic principle of organisation as the best known device for thwarting the self-interest of despotism, and thus the only form of the state that does not unduly entrench upon the freedom of the individual, there is a spurious socialism known as Bismarckian or state socialism, which does not observe this precaution. This form of socialism is indeed open to all the objections which have been urged against socialism by the philosophical individualists. It is organised from the top down rather than from the bottom up. It is marked quite as well by the absence of democracy as is socialism proper by its presence. It is the organism in the sphere of the state. We may remark in passing that the Marxian socialist has ever had to contend against any further extension of the organising function of the state upon this basis quite as strenuously as against that complete disruption of the organising function of the state demanded by the anarchists.

The charge that socialism is opposed to individualism because introducing into the organisation of the state the principle of the organism is thus seen to be unfounded as regards socialism proper. In Prof. Ely's case, however, it would

seem that a misapprehension may also have arisen from the unfortunate implication of the terms themselves. While according to their derivation as philosophically considered the terms socialism and individualism stand opposed, it does not follow that as used by the sociologist they are thus conflicting. For in sociology the term socialism is not to be understood as the negation or submergence of the principle of individualism, but simply as an expression for the resultant of the tendencies of the many discreet individualities when these are socially united in an organisation. And since this product or summation of individual tendencies will represent an average of individual tendencies it is absurd to suppose that the resulting society could ever be completely or even largely opposed to any of its constituent units.

But now an entirely new opposition arises from this use of the terms in their sociological sense, for here we must face the inevitable query as to who shall be supreme, the one or the many—the individual or the state. The socialist unhesitatingly replies,—the many. But we must not rashly conclude therefore that the freedom of the individual is to be interfered with in any new or unusual manner by this supremacy of the many, for in reality it furnishes but another instance of the all-conditioning constraint imposed

by the laws of nature. It is nature's own necessity that individualities shall be conditioned by each other, unless indeed their every desire should harmonise with those of all others and thus conflict between them fail to arise. It is however inconceivable that opposing desires should be long lacking or that these opposing desires should fail to be self-harmonising. To be sure the anarchist does affect this *tour de force* and we might venture to agree that if human nature were perfect we might conceive all desires as harmonious. But if on account of our present imperfect state conflicting desires are inevitable, then that government which exists solely for the sake of their equitable adjustment is adding no further restrictions on the necessarily limited freedom of the individual. All government is thus opposed to political individualism: exists in fact to embody the consensus of opinion concerning the limitations on the freedom of each necessitated by the demand for a similar freedom on the part of others. And all prohibitive government is an enormity if it is less or more than a mere representation of the natural limitations arising from the mutually conflicting desires of its subjects. The socialist is affirming no new or unaccepted principle in opposing political individualism.

Thus the socialist society as conceived by its

advocates seeks to embody only those restrictions on the freedom of the individual that are naturally inevitable. It simply recognises and construes in the form of statutes these naturally imposed restrictions. Its laws but reproduce or represent laws of nature which are certain to appear in the form of tyranny in the absence of just government. Hence the socialist state like all just government is to be regarded as but the instrumentality through which is to be effected the equitable adjustment of the mutually conflicting claims of its subjects, clearly not as an institution presenting claims otherwise non-existent. And as it thus provides a government as a means through which all such claims may work out through a medium especially designed for their adjustment, we may readily believe that more freedom results than where such clashing desires are allowed to reach their natural conclusion in the despotic rule of the strongest. Socialism is thus not even opposed to a real political individualism so far as it can be achieved in practice, although perhaps opposed to the merely postulated, but unrealisable, unconditioned individualism of the political anarchist. And all government partakes of the nature of socialism to this extent.

We may note that it is nothing more nor less than this conception of unconditioned individ-

ualism that is conjured to the support of anarchism, that negation of government with which the highly organised government of socialism is so properly contrasted. Says Lyman Abbott in *Anarchism: Its Cause and Cure*,—"Anarchy is the doctrine that there should be no governmental control; Socialism—that is, State Socialism—is the doctrine that government should control everything." ⁴ Of course this contrast is unfair both to anarchy and to socialism, for each is presented in the ridiculous extreme. But fortunately the definition of the term anarchy is almost universally agreed upon: it is simply the absence of governmental organisation, based upon the assumption that such organisation is unnecessary. But as we have seen unless individual desires do in fact harmonise, then such organisation is indispensable. It must be retained to establish an artificially enforced harmony, at least pending the evolution of that perfection of human nature which will permit of its abolition. We may state then from the point of view of the non-anarchist that although it is doubtless true that ultimately only those natures that do harmonise with each other would survive, yet evolution has still far to proceed before this result is reached, and at present human nature is far from that state of perfection in which

⁴ *Outlook*, February, 1902, p. 465.

any form of organisation — or none at all — would be equally consistent with human welfare. In case the individual were perfect the socialist would not concern himself about the form or functions of social organisation, as he does so supremely at present. His claim is indeed that the utmost resources of the political scientist should be called into requisition in the attempt to construct that institutional society which will best answer the purposes of imperfect humanity. Human nature must be taken as it is, its strength accurately and scientifically tested; and without grumbling unduly at the weakness of the material at his command, the social architect must proceed to plan a stable and good society.

It is because he perceives clearly the weakness and unreliability in the characters of those who must be entrusted in a measure with the welfare of others that the socialist insists on what he regards as the most essential requisite in the structure of government, namely a complete adherence to the principle of democracy throughout this necessary organisation. For while an aristocracy can and probably usually does govern better than a democracy, its unfailing tendency is to revert to despotism. Similarly in a republican form of government, in proportion as the character of the average representative law maker is not sufficiently reliable to defend the

interests of his constituency, the necessity arises for the use of the recall and the initiative and referendum. And while it may be admitted that direct legislation is an awkward form of law making, it may well be the best attainable in view of the corrupting influences on the representative law making body. From the foregoing considerations the socialist concludes that not only is organised government necessary despite the contentions of the anarchist, but that in view of the non-altruistic character of those who are to formulate its laws and administer its decrees it must be thoroughly democratic.

But even democratic organisation is not sufficient unless it is measurably complete. As opposed to anarchy socialism is complete organisation. Now it is obvious that competition can find place only in the absence of complete organisation, and that coöperation, the antithesis of competition, is the signal characteristic of complete organisation. Hence a direct consequence of the organising propensity of socialism is its antipathy to competition. Says Skelton in *Socialism, A Critical Analysis*,—"In each of these aspects—indictment, analysis, panacea, campaign—socialism is intelligible only as the antithesis of the competitive system."⁵

Let it be noted, however, that the government

⁵ p. 9.

of the socialist state, although thus completely organised, would be wholly negative as government proper. The individual would not be positively coerced, but only restrained from coercing others. The socialist state would neither exploit its citizens itself nor permit individuals to do so. The individual would be left free in all respects to choose among the numerous alternatives which would be provided by the socialist democratic state. That there would be provided a great variety of such alternatives would follow from the fact that these alternatives would be established and made available by those who would be most interested in seeing that such opportunities were supplied, for these under the democratic socialist state would possess full power to adopt all desirable measures of industrial and social reform. Under democracy it is impossible to enslave society as a whole.

Furthermore the organisation of the socialist state, while conditioning the acts and privileges of its members, is not necessarily felt by them as a restrictive agency. As the other laws of nature are seen to be necessary laws of our being, and subjectively asserted, so the laws of man become superfluous to the normal man. The normal parent does not find the compulsory education law a restriction, nor does the normal son

feel constrained by the law compelling the support of aged parents. The law is fulfilled through voluntary obedience; hence although we may agree with Lyman Abbott that socialism is the complete opposite of anarchy, we can nevertheless maintain that the socialist is able to agree with the philosophical anarchist who finds that the organisation will be ultimately superfluous through fulfilment.

There is a form of individualism yet to be considered which is held to oppose the socialist conception even more stubbornly than those already considered, namely, that of the ethical individualist. An examination of socialism from the standpoint of ethical individualism seems especially necessary inasmuch as socialism is so vigorously attacked in the name of Christianity, notwithstanding the oft repeated declaration that "the ethics of socialism are identical with those of Christianity."⁶

In the first place we must all agree that the Christian life is impossible in society as at present constituted. The unreserved practice of Christian virtues can lead only to non-survival. The Christian ideals of the pure altruism of service have been consistently ignored in practice

⁶ *Cyclopædia of Social Reform*, Bliss. Article on Christianity and Social Reform.

and the competitive struggle sanctioned by the materialistic evolutionists has been everywhere substituted.

The logic of events thus proves that individual ethics cannot be divorced from social morals. In addition to those acts and choices for which the individual can justly be held responsible are others within the control of society alone. For these it is proper that society rather than the individual be held responsible. And the fact that this responsibility is not that of a vague something called society but that of the individuals who together compose society, does not imply that it is on a par with purely individual responsibility. Social responsibility is incommensurable in terms of individual responsibilities. While the individual is totally responsible for his own private acts, he is only partially responsible for the commonly acquiesced in acts of society as a body.

It has indeed been asserted, notably by Professor Peabody in *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, that Christ taught only individual responsibility. Thus the professed followers of one whose chief teaching was the brotherhood of man protest in the name of their leader against the recognition of the principle of social responsibility. They seem to believe with Tolstoy that the Kingdom of Heaven can be established on

earth only by repudiating the ordinarily accepted laws of political science. But they denounce the socialists as visionaries who do not recognise the imperfections of human nature. Nor do they attempt to show how individual excellence is to be made manifest in works.

The socialist objects that virtuous humanity must obviously be working under a great disadvantage if it must proceed through individual effort to achieve an unorganised regeneration of society; while, as we may rest assured, the forces of evil will not advance singly but in well ordered array. Moreover, while a certain type of Christian is concentrating attention upon the affairs of another world, the wicked are prospering by strict application to "business" here and now.

All this follows from that form of other-worldliness which, while attributing total responsibility to each person in his individual capacity for all his acts, relegates to another world the practical recognition of his deserts. The socialist is opposed to ethical individualism only in so far as it illogically imposes responsibility without granting authority, and in so far as it dishonestly withholds reward when due. And it is opposed to individualism in general only when the latter would altogether deny that there is any field whatever for the application of the principle of socialism.

If we turn now from these attempts to define socialism in terms of its contrast with the various forms of individualism we shall find that it is even more difficult to frame a hard and fast definition in positive terms. All those positively expressed definitions which we are able to find in the writings of the best expounders of socialism are marked by a very obvious inadequacy. They patently leave something to be inferred. They ignore phases generally recognised as belonging to the movement. There is, indeed, much implied in socialism of which many of its most ardent and enthusiastic supporters seem unaware, though they undoubtedly feel the emotional fervour inspired by the unperceived motives.

It is no occasion for wonder that such should be the case, for it is almost unfailingly true that those engaged in the midst of great reconstructive movements have been more or less blind to the real nature and significance of the forces that were in large part influential in determining their action. Socialism more than most movements is self-conscious, but it is far from being completely so. We shall find that the current definitions most acceptable to socialists generally show recognition of only a part of the movement. Thus we may read a series of quotations in the introduction to *The Handbook of Socialism* by

W. D. P. Bliss, where six pages of definitions by representative socialists of all sorts, Utopian and scientific, agree that socialism is primarily an economic movement, concluding with his own definition,—“Socialism is the fixed principle, capable of infinite and changing variety of form and only gradually to be applied, according to which the community should own land and capital collectively and operate them co-operatively for the equitable good of all.”⁷ This obviously leaves much that is of determining value untold, for we are unable to imagine with definiteness that state of society where the control is vested in a governing body indefinitely referred to as the “community,” which in turn is informed with no guiding principle beyond the indefinite and general “equitable good of all.” And when we attempt to formulate this guiding principle for ourselves we are obliged to admit that we are unable to find any ready made determination of the ideal good, but only a line of development to be progressively worked out. No descriptive definition of socialism can probably be framed which will be inclusive of its multifarious aspects or even true to its inner meaning. Hence we are forced to abandon any attempt to define socialism by its results, probable or predictable, and to content ourselves with an examination

⁷ p. 1.

of its grounds or causes in the general social situation and of its professed and implied purposes.

We must undertake to define it as a form of social organisation rather than as a worked out scheme of social institutions. Modern scientific socialism condemns all attempt at definition in terms of results as Utopian. Says Miss Hughan in *American Socialism of the Present Day*,—"The distinction between Utopian and scientific socialism lies in the fact that the former submitted to the choice of mankind a plan founded upon ethics and expediency, while the latter presents an analysis of economic forces with a prognostication as to their more or less inevitable tendencies. The strictly economic interpretation of history precludes the determination of the details of a society until the material conditions which are to produce that society have arrived."⁸

The socialists themselves meet the demand for a positive definition by a declaration of the purposes of socialism, i. e., of their own purposes. While we may consider these with profit we shall be obliged to ask continually if they are typical and to what extent they may be expected to prevail in a socialistically organised community.

⁸ p. 120.

Foremost among these declared purposes is the declaration in regard to the establishment of economic justice. Socialism is generally known as an economic doctrine and programme. Volumes have been written describing and explaining its economic foundations. Its platforms usually declare it to be a strictly economic movement with no purpose beyond the political expression of the contentions of the labour unions and no aim beyond the material improvement of the proletariat. This obsession with the material is due to the short range of vision of the common man rather than to any paucity of spiritual implications in the movement itself. We may note that many of those in the movement are not particularly of a reflective or analytical cast of mind, hence all that comes to consciousness in their minds is the economic content of the movement. They are engaged strictly in forwarding a reorganisation of society with the sole aim of ameliorating the condition of the working class. That this would incidentally supply the material foundation for an entirely new social structure ought to be seen to follow plainly enough from the doctrine of economic determinism to which they are so largely committed. And that some of these consequences might surpass in importance the effects directly sought seems scarcely to have occurred to many

of the most enthusiastic workers in the movement.

While we may consider then that the main concern of socialism, particularly as conceived by most of its advocates, is in economic affairs, we must take note also that it implies reforms quite remote from any purely material well being. Bax well says,—“The attempt to limit the term socialism within the four walls of an economic definition is in the long run futile.”⁹

But although socialism may not be confined to the economic field, it at least takes its start there. If we say with C. H. Vale that socialism is “industrial democracy,”¹⁰ we shall properly emphasise the economic standpoint of the movement and further signify by the use of the term democracy that the future direction that it will take will rest upon the character of the people composing the collective commonwealth. We cannot perhaps predict far into the results of an industrial democracy such as this, but we can at least make an analysis of the powers conferred and deduce some of the probable resultants from the conjunction of these with the known characteristics of human nature.

We must understand socialism then, not by its predicted final results nor even entirely by

⁹ *Outlooks from the New Standpoint*, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Principles of Scientific Socialism*.

its professed purposes, but by an analysis of its grounds and causes, noting the various forces spiritual and material that tend to produce it and their probable outcome. Then we may consider the significance of the movement as related causally to the past, noting its tendencies as to means and methods and trying to discover so far as possible its aims and the probabilities of their realisation.

CHAPTER III

SOCIOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF SOCIALISM

WE are now prepared after this preliminary discussion of the necessary limitations of our attempt, in a general way at least, to classify this modern manifestation of popular uprising. From the point of view of the science of sociology it is not an isolated phenomenon. Nor is it a mere passing phase of restive discontent. It is part and parcel of the movement for popular liberty that has during the past century laid so profound hold upon all civilised mankind. This fact of tremendous import will become more apparent as we proceed in our discussion. Meanwhile we should note that if there is any recognisable sociological cause for this movement for popular liberty, then the same cause may be expected to reach its further fruition in the further development of socialism.

In considering the rise of this movement we find, as we should expect, that oppression must first be felt and recognised before any effort will be made to escape from it. And it is of course direct oppression that is thus first recognised and

thrown off by the partially aroused people. This took place when the despot was dethroned, and autocracy as a principle of government was displaced by political democracy. But this reform was incomplete in that it sought to benefit only a portion of humanity, for some classes such as slaves still remained in direct bondage, and others, including women, were allowed no direct voice in the government. Moreover even if completed this overthrow of direct tyranny leaves untouched a multitude of indirect forms and instances of oppression. It remains that industrial and social as well as political despotism be overthrown before a real freedom can be enjoyed. The real meaning of socialism is to be sought in an analysis of the forces tending to accomplish this overthrow, and a formulation of the means and methods that will guarantee the permanent establishment of ideal social relations.

Since therefore socialism has an origin in the general movement toward democracy, we may expect that the same forces that are responsible for the rise of democracy will control its further development. Hence it is our next task to examine the forces underlying the rise of democracy in each department of human relations.

Now it is obvious that there is to be expected, and in fact always has been, a restive seeking

to alter conditions on the part of those who feel their own status in the social system to be relatively unsatisfactory. In early times while the caste system remained practically in effect this took the form of peasants' rebellions or artisans' revolts. Later we find desperate efforts on the part of individuals and families to raise themselves from "that state in which Providence had caused their lot to be cast." Preferment was sought through military service, through the arts of the courtier, through marriage alliances, and even through the church. Finally the idea of status was definitely abandoned as a principle of social structure and that of contract substituted. But this demanded a quite different set of social institutions and a quite different attitude toward social questions. The jury system which had hitherto been restricted to criminal actions became now generally extended to cover civil cases. The method of settling social action by voting which had hitherto received but limited recognition began to gain sway in all the most highly civilised communities. Bodies of representatives of "the commons" began to advise and then to command the autocratic ruler. Thus democracy announced its arrival as superseding nature government, or tyranny.

It is obvious that the desires of the *rank and*

file, who under democracy are the ultimate sovereign power, will be generally different from those of the *staff*, whose function it is to direct, either through recognised position of authority as in the past, or as at present through ownership of the necessary means of production. And if we proceed to note these differences one by one we shall be immediately struck by the fact that this democratic society will first of all desire that industrial competition shall cease.

As in war it is chiefly the privates in the ranks who pay the penalty of the struggle, so in industrial competition it is the workers for wages who must bear the burden of the conflict. The struggle that to the employer is merely a contest to decide who shall secure commercial supremacy is to the employee a matter of securing a livelihood. Looking at the matter from the point of view of the more numerous class, who under democracy would obtain their desires, it is small wonder that they should desire a cessation of the conflict. It is properly a matter concerning solely the competing capitalists, a conflict in which they themselves are not directly interested. But they must enter *nolens volens* as employees of one or the other party to the contest. And whichever of the competing capitalists should prove victorious they are certain of loss through the inevitable lowering of wages necessitated by

the attempt of each employer to underbid the other in the cost of production.

They themselves are unable to enter the tourney, disqualified by lack of the necessary evidence of rank as implied in the possession of land and capital. The whole struggle is indeed a tragic one to the worker. He rightly distrusts the generals or "captains of industry" under whom he lines up,—their honour and their disposition to sacrifice him—for he is aware that often they make terms between themselves and join in common cause against him. The heartlessness of business being thus shown in the brutalised disregard for those who are chiefly affected, we cannot wonder that the wage earner intends to do away with industrial warfare as soon as he has the power.

Moreover just as the gradual cessation of actual warfare betokens not only an improvement in the methods of settling disputes but quite as much a decline in martial spirit, so is the mitigation of competition among labourers not only a result of the solidarity of labour but even more a result of the weakening of the spirit of industrial ambition: this notwithstanding the efforts of the strenuous element among our population to keep it alive. Lack of the determination to wrest power and position from associates is denounced in certain quarters as scathingly

as was formerly the lack of reckless bravery and ferocity in battle. This lack of competitive spirit is based mainly upon the gradual but general growth of altruism. Indeed the solidarity of labour itself is based quite as much upon the growth of this sentiment as upon economic necessity.

But a deeper underlying source of dissatisfaction with our imperfect and incomplete social organisation is the finally awakening spirit of social selfconsciousness. This rather than any mere mechanical working out of historic processes is responsible for the passion for democracy whose sources we are seeking. It is not a Renaissance this time but a social awakening quite as profound and even more momentous on account of its greater scope, a spirit of modern times yet to be clearly recognised and named, but whose most tangible manifestation as we have seen is the enthusiasm for democracy,—a reconstruction of society according to the demands of the newly developing science of sociology.

This movement may be regarded as in some sense a reaction from the naturalism of the immediate followers of Darwin, for it aims to improve the order in which "natural selection" is supreme. It seeks to erect the superstructure of man's purposive creation upon the basic unpurposive natural order, which seems to ignore

the harmonies demanded by man. This is not unnatural in the truest sense. Man's conscious mentality has passed through a similar succession of evolutionary stages. The representative faculties have emerged to forestall the necessity of actual trial of each possibility of action. Thinking man, who exemplifies nature at her highest, plans and reasons before acting, instead of following lower nature in her necessity of making many inharmonious combinations to ascertain which forms are actually compatible.

This reasoning faculty is first applied to the more objective realms. Man reasons regarding the use to be made of his natural surroundings and his tools, much later about his relations with other men, and later still about his own moods and frames of mind. Latest of all is his objective scientific method applied to the conduct of society as a whole. But this application when finally made is of the highest importance. It is this application which is now demanding attention, for it becomes manifest as the principle of socialism. It is this consistent scientific application of sociology that is the unobtrusive but actual force behind the various surface manifestations of the socialist movement.

Ethics as a science treating of the responsibilities of the individual as determined by his social relations has long been a consistent guide

to the individual conscience: now social ethics treating of the responsibilities of society for and to the individual is called into play under the guise of the so called religious aspect of socialism. Thus the final application of science, that to *man* as the ultimate end of all human endeavour and regard, is in sight.

With this preliminary examination of socialistic definitions and tendencies we may proceed to formulate a provisional definition, bearing in mind all the while that such a definition must be expressed in terms of principles and causes rather than in terms of plans and results, for these are as yet indeterminate. It is to be regarded then as the direct fruition of social self-consciousness, a necessary and inevitable consequence of increased clearness of social vision, presenting a consummation unavoidably to be reached if the progress of civilisation be not arrested or turned backward. We have seen how political democracy was the first step in the activity of society which had reached its majority. By this real government as distinguished from autocratic tyranny has been established at least in form. That this coming of age of society should be accompanied by the demand for self government is entirely consistent. And we now find that so little daunted is the newly enfranchised citizenry by this responsibility that

a further demand is rapidly becoming articulate — that for complete power to bring the further evolution of human society under human direction. With these facts in mind we may hazard the approximation that *socialism is the social system which seeks by means of the social control of heredity and environment to direct the further progress of civilisation in accordance with the ideals arising through social selfconsciousness.*

This control of the factors of further progress must proceed through the appeal of ideas to the people democratically organised if it is to be truly social in character. And while we may not predict the exact form or scope of the resulting institutions, we are at liberty to infer certain of their characteristics from the known tendencies of democratic communities.

No longer is the control of any phase of social development to remain in the hands of individuals provided the idea of its control by society is an idea that appeals to the people. Thus under democratic organisation there is placed within the reach of the lower half of society the power to alter civilisation according to their own needs. Such an arrangement cannot fail to have the most momentous consequences. For this rule by the lower half of society, or to speak more strictly in accordance with the fact, accord-

ing to the decisions of the lower half, will differ in several important respects from that rule that has prevailed hitherto. And several characteristics may be predicted of it with safety if we are to assume that it shall become really effective.

First, the lower half being in control of the situation, they will be held in respect as never before. Their views will become for the first time of real and supreme importance. They will be in no sense negligible factors as ever heretofore, for no important step can be taken without their consent. Rule must be exercised if not by them at least through them. Hence their mental and moral state becomes for the first time matter of supreme selfish concern to those who are more favoured. Inasmuch as their material condition reflects on their mental and moral capacity and welfare, this also will become for the first time a matter of intimate personal concern to their superiors. The whole people must progress as one. No longer may the few distance the many or perhaps even progress at their expense. Society becomes builded upon the principle of the cantilever bridge, in which each part is supported by the part immediately below it; rather than upon the principle of the suspension bridge, in which each part is supported by the part immediately above it. It consequently becomes a

matter of more concern what is below than what is above. That this attitude, necessitated on the part of society, will fail to be extremely interesting in its consequences for the lower half is inconceivable. We do not depend upon altruism to support the socialist commonwealth. Community of interest will suffice to accomplish all that could for a moment be expected of altruism, and more. Self-interest will prompt the most earnest and sincere endeavours on the part of the favoured to uplift their less fortunate comrades.

Thus the socialist movement tends to unify society. Since the welfare of each is bound up with the welfare of all, it tends to make all men brothers. A unified society progressing in this way must in course advance further and in the long run faster than a partial group, as may be seen in the contrast afforded by our modern civilisation when compared with that of the Greeks. Inasmuch then as the whole people or a majority of them must be interested before any movement for the common welfare can become effective, the resulting society presents a new aspect significant as the effect of an integrating tendency which we find most properly expressed in the fortunate name of *socialism*. Under socialism then society must progress as a whole

and the word "solidarity," now the slogan of the workers, becomes the motto of society.

Society thus becomes responsible as a whole for all matters of social concern. This is quite a different matter from the "social responsibility" often spoken of at the present time. The latter usually and naturally refers to the responsibilities of the individual members of the privileged classes to look out for the interests of the social group to which they feel themselves to belong,—in the best and broadest sense of course, for all the people. But this "social responsibility" is felt to be essentially individual responsibility in practice. The individual will be punished by conscience in this world and retribution in the next for neglecting it, but it does not come within the interdiction of the civil law. It has a basis in altruism alone and may be expected to manifest itself in proportion as that sentiment is developed. The socialist while not denying the assistance of this motive, would not attempt to base the solid structure of the commonwealth on any such insubstantial and unstable foundation. Social responsibility is for him the responsibility of the individual not *for* but *to* society, and the consequent responsibility of society for the individual.

It has been objected that the exercise of this

responsibility by society will lessen the individual's responsibility for himself. Now in justice we may be glad if this is so, in case it does not relieve the individual of responsibility commensurate with his command over his destinies. But the individual cannot in a civilised community possibly exercise control over all the forces bearing on his welfare. How then can he justly be held responsible for the outcome of these forces on himself? Civilisation itself is an attempt to put responsibility where it belongs, on man rather than upon nature, who seems to repudiate the imposition. For man singly and alone can control nature only to very limited extent, while man collectively can impose a far larger measure of control. According to these respective powers is apportioned the appropriate measure of responsibility.

The individual is in nowise relieved from responsibility for his own welfare where he can by any means be supposed to possess the corresponding authority over his lot. Indeed he can be more properly held for that which he can control when relieved of that which he cannot. Hence charity and state aid assume an entirely new aspect under socialism. Except as strictly humanitarian measures, such as old age pensions, charity is entirely out of place in the socialist society, however greatly it may be needed to

make up the deficiencies in justice in the present.

Another inference from the really democratic government of socialism is the fact that the tendency of the exceptional individuals to detach themselves from the general mass would be checked. The desire to obtain for themselves and their families permanent hereditary advantages would be unavailing. Thus the limiting of families, the education for class social position, and the instilling of aristocratic notions into the minds of their children would be given up. The distinctions sought would necessarily be limited to real superiority of lineage and not at all to those determined by hereditary possessions. In other words class pride and class aggrandisement must disappear as class distinctions are rendered impermanent by the advent of democracy. With classes abolished the individual would rest upon his own merits as a member of society.

F. W. Headley in *Darwinism and Modern Socialism* bewails the fact that under socialism it will be impossible to "found a family." It is true that much of the family pride and responsibility will be abolished along with equally unfounded individual responsibility. The public school has already made inroads on the exercise of parental responsibility and is decried as a socialist institution. But it is evident that the

parent has as much power to educate his children himself as he ever actually possessed. The responsibility assumed by the state in all such instances is that which the narrower authority was never able to exercise effectively.

If we look at the pronounced socialistic measures we shall find that they are merely such as would be naturally brought about by a majority vote in regard to things industrial and social. We may instance the tendency toward paternalism which is so strongly criticised. The common man desires that certain things be done for him by the government. Some of them perhaps he might better do for himself, but right or wrong his demands are heard by a government that is responsive to his wishes.

Then there is the main contention of the socialist, that the government should receive the unearned increment. It is not to the worker's advantage that a private individual should receive this inevitable return upon investment of capital, for then it would pass completely out of his control, whereas if it is taken over by the government he will have a voice in its disposal.

The common man, so immensely in the majority, longs for a government that is responsive to the interests of his own class. He has thus far been deluded into thinking that although

the conduct of business is far from just he might in some way manage to win one of the unjust gains for himself. His gambling spirit has hence predisposed him to favour a system in which rich prizes await the fortunate or the crafty. This is the true inwardness of much of the individualism for which the typical American has been so highly commended. However we cannot believe that even with all this in favour of a continuance of the *laissez faire* system the great bulk of the citizens of our country would have patiently endured seeing themselves involuntarily contributing to these rich prizes if they had had within their easy grasp the means of altering these conditions. This means socialism proposes to furnish them.

Many other questions are suggested as to the meaning of socialism with reference to special problems. It is constantly sought to define socialism by its results, and it is not surprising that the replies are not in agreement. Would socialism prohibit the sale of intoxicants? This is a question which presents itself to the socialist as one regarding the degree in which the public policy is seen to demand the surrender of private or individual preference. Socialism holds, as does the present accepted theory of government, that public policy takes precedence over individual desire, but that liberty demands that

balance between the demands of the public and those of the individual which results in the greatest freedom. Hence socialism does not settle this question or any other of like nature, but as we shall see it does provide the machinery by which it may be settled equitably.

Having thus examined socialism in a preliminary way as to what it includes, we may next notice those reforms which unjustifiably appropriate the name socialistic. In taking up this topic of pseudo-socialistic reforms, we shall do well to examine our definition more in detail and deduce therefrom the essential features of true socialism. The social control, as was stated, implies adequate *organisation*. Without organisation society is not a unified, coherent body, but simply an inchoate mass of human individualities. Unless natural organisation, that is spontaneous self-adjustment without formal system, is in force, in which case the society functions practically as an organism, there must be a codified system of rules. Such a system of rules or laws is characteristic of the organisation proper. And such organisation is, except for the case noted, the necessary preliminary to real social action,—hence to that supreme social action called forth by socialism.

This organisation should be sufficiently complete to accomplish the purpose of the socialist

state, that of supplanting warfare and competition in the control of heredity and environment. It must be at least as extensive and thorough as that required for government, since it includes that function. In general the more complete the formal organisation, the more adequate for the socialist's purpose, always considering the appropriateness of the particular form of organisation in question to the purposes involved. Thorough organisation alone is a very considerable step toward the realisation of the socialistic state.

In the second place in order to "direct the further progress of civilisation" there must be clearly perceived social purposes or *ideals*. It is well recognised that no matter how perfect the mechanism of a social organisation may be, unless there is a common social aim, society will degenerate and disintegrate. Even if it does not do so, such a society could hardly be deemed to control its further progress, for control implies the directing force of purposes or ideals in accordance with which the control is exercised. As organisation is necessary to socialism as the instrument through which control is to be exercised, so are intelligently perceived social purposes implied as the outcome of that social selfconsciousness which is the underlying cause of the socialist movement. And these social

purposes are naturally the formulated and applied expression of the common social ideals.

Even with these two, organisation and socially perceived ideals, control to be real must be accompanied with another essential condition. If it is to be exercised consciously society must adopt means commensurate with its purposes and adapt the organisation to its ideals. It must not rule in the manner of nature, blindly and unheedingly; nor may it allow nature to reassume her formerly exercised control in default of man's intelligent adaption of means to conscious ends. The method of nature is that of the survival of the fittest, with the elimination of those not thus naturally "selected": first employing warfare as the agent in this selective process, later competition. These two methods must not be allowed to intrude into the sphere of the conscious method of selection that should prevail under socialism. For socialism replaces these crude and wasteful processes by virtue of the same economy that has been successfully invoked to guide individual conduct, namely *intelligent decision*. Socialism requires that society employ as its method of selection that intelligent decision achieved through the representative faculty of the mind, instead of that of direct trial (warfare) or that of indirect trial (competition).

Moreover the very first demand of awakening social selfconsciousness was for democracy in the realm of politics. With the completely awakened social selfconsciousness this demand will be the more insistent and comprehensive. In the first place democracy is the only form in which the government can be presumed to express the common will. But more than this, it is the only form in which governmental activity can be said to be exercised by the people at large. In this respect it is to be contrasted with nature government, i. e., with autocracy. We may suppose that autocracy arises without any social selfconsciousness on the part of the subjects. In the autocracy the role of the citizenship is purely passive. It is not *their* government but a government *of them*. The will of the despot alone receives expression in the state unless democracy prevails. So far is autocracy from expressing the collective will, and so serving as the organising forms and forces which make possible the social unit, that it may be said to be on the contrary the full and free expression of a society of *one*. (*L'état, c'est moi.*) The socialist society will be the furthest possible remove from nature government, or autocracy. It will be the apotheosis of *democracy*.

If we proceed now to examine many of the so-called socialistic activities, which seem at first

glance to justify this characterisation, we shall find that on closer inspection they will be found to lack one or more of these four indispensable characteristics: viz. *organisation*, socially perceived *ideals* or purposes, *decision* instead of trial, and *democratic rule*.

We may instance as deficient in adequate organisation all those public and private charities which are not thus far thoroughly co-ordinated with the other economic factors affecting the livelihoods of those concerned. For thorough organisation demands such co-ordination. Private endowments fall into the same category and are especially worthy of notice in this regard since they are often instanced as excellent substitutes for socialist measures, involving the appropriation of public funds. For when these benefactions take the form of gratuities, as they commonly do, they thereby fail to take into account the correspondence that should and naturally does exist between merit and reward. Moreover they all lack that origin in commonly acknowledged desert which is assumed in the *state* pension for past meritorious service. Pensions and all forms of state aid proportioned to service are commonly socialistic when related to the other rewards for service distributed by the body social, in other words when a part of

organised compensation; pseudo-socialistic when not so apportioned.

But there are many activities bearing a thoroughly organised relation to the other activities of the state which still lack something of falling into the category of socialistic enterprise, because they are not informed with socially perceived ideals. Much of public education is in this condition. It may be objected that at the worst it is believed to fit for business. This can hardly be deemed an ideal purpose at all, for what is meant is that it trains for individual survival, to the discomfiture of competitors. In so far as public education lacks the element of ideal social purpose it can not be truly denominated socialistic.

There is even a variety of the organised state relief of poverty to which the designation socialistic must be denied for the reason that it is not instinct with such purpose. This system of poor relief often has no purpose save the simply humanitarian impulse to relieve suffering of any sort. A broader social vision would sense the error of pauperising and so virtually enslaving the recipients of such aid. Preventable poverty is never ideal even when systematically relieved.

Almost the whole of our penal system is likewise lacking in this socially perceived purpose.

There is behind the penal laws simply a desire to avenge private injury or at most to protect society against the criminal. Even if we admit that deterrent laws protect society against crime, and that some laws are aimed at the reformation of the criminal, we have still to note the objection that there is no plan, consistent as a whole, which aims to remove the source of the corruption.

There are other typical social activities which are undeniably well organised and even purposeful, but which are still to be rejected as pseudo-socialistic because they do not rest on the third essential of socialism, social decision, but instead on competition or even in some instances on warfare. The assertion of national supremacy through foreign wars may indeed be regarded as compatible with socialism within the nation, but clearly not as between nations. Accordingly it is allowed by those socialists who hold the limited nationalistic view of society, but not by those who accept the principle of socialism as of world wide application.

Again, public works undertaken through the contract system of allotment to the lowest bidder are lacking in the element of social decision, being a reversion to the ante-socialist principle of competition. Even the civil service department of the present state is vitiated as a truly socialistic institution by the competitive stan-

dard which determines not only who are qualified to enter but who are to be permitted to remain. This again is contrary to that principle of socialism which requires that social decision rather than competition should determine the standard of a reasonable day's work and a reasonable reward.

But that which binds all these attributes of socialism together and makes them practically effective is democratic rule. This is the one indispensable condition of effective "control of heredity and environment by society." Under a deficiency of democracy labour most of those forms of state enterprise commonly but erroneously denominated "socialistic." And most of the objections to a socialistic society which obtain among thinking people are based upon the unsatisfactory working of just these forms of enterprise. Indeed herein is afforded the very greatest opportunity of despotism. Whether such state enterprises are held outside the control of the people by an awkward and unmanageable system of representative government, backed by a property rights protecting constitution as in the United States, or by a bureaucracy ultimately responsible only to the crown as in Germany,—such state socialism (better called state capitalism) fails utterly to be truly socialistic, through its lack of democracy.

And if real government ownership can thus afford such opportunities to the despot, what must be said of that spurious public ownership, where the government holds title to the property, the real value of which is represented by privately held national, state, or municipal bonds? In this case the governing officials if not directly responsible to the people and removable at their pleasure have no check whatever upon the temptation to play off the bond holders against the public. It may at once be admitted, as it is by all reputable socialists, that without democracy public ownership would result in the worst sort of tyranny, for the economic and political rulers would be combined into one despotic overlord.

While none of these steps are socialistic in themselves and some are extremely dangerous in their incomplete form, they are oftentimes of such a nature as to render the establishment of real socialism a matter easier of accomplishment. They are preliminary steps not *of* but *towards* socialism. Certain of the fundamental principles underlying the American government are peculiarly well suited to the purposes of socialism. For example the retention of the right of eminent domain is most fortunate. It is the needful principle underlying the constitution of the socialist state, and its exercise will greatly

facilitate the assumption by the state of socialistic functions without the necessity of a political revolution.

As before stated the democratic form of government is also a considerable part of the necessary political machinery of socialism. It therefore only remains to make our political machinery more thoroughly democratic. All those measures such as the recall, the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, etc., are favourable to socialism precisely in the measure that they are favourable to democracy.

Even under the *laissez faire* policy government has a tendency to reach out toward the control of industry. Public service commissions have no other meaning. While they ostensibly govern men instead of managing industry, they at least recognise the necessity of governmental interference with private business. They cannot be defended on any other assumption than that of the socialist,—that the interests of society are of paramount importance and are subject to protection and advancement by society acting as an organised unit.

Then too there is more than a hint regarding the probable management of the labour problem in the civil service. While the method of selection must not remain competitive except on strictly ideal grounds, the examination feature

may justifiably remain as a qualifying test. It would then be the task of the examiner to so conduct the qualifying test that it would furnish a true indication of the fitness of the candidate for the position. Such competition as might still remain would hardly be competition proper at all, but rather merely a rivalry for that good opinion which would result in a favourable choice by the decision of those delegated to exercise such choice.

Organisation within industry has progressed apace, if not with governmental approbation then in spite of its absence. The forces of labour have combined into labour unions, while the forces exercising a directing control have united into vast industrial combines, officered by "captains of industry." These two, the one representing the spirit and form of democracy, albeit a limited democracy,—the other, that of an hereditary autocracy, are the most notable forerunners of an impending industrial autonomy. That the combination of capitalists is overshadowing and overwhelming the unions of the labouring proletariat is no evidence whatsoever that the contest will not presently be renewed on a field more favourable to the latter. The powers of the government have hitherto been successfully invoked only by the forces of capital and seem to have been altogether overlooked by those of la-

bour, but with the new spirit of political democracy in the air it is extremely unlikely that this preoccupation of the forces of labour with the more direct industrial means will be for long. It seems far more likely that the powers conferred by political democracy will presently be perceived and seized upon by the workers to usher in industrial democracy.

Both forms of organisation, even in their present imperfect state, promise much for socialism: the trust because it is furnishing ready to hand the forms of organisation and the enforced submission of the workers to industrial rule, much as monarchy accustomed its subjects to political rule, or slavery accustomed the workers to habitual and regular endeavour; the labour union because it trains the workers directly in the forms and exercises of democratic governmental functions as applied to industrial problems, much as local self rule accustomed the people to the exercise of legislation for the common good before the general establishment of political democracy.

“As socialism is the child of capitalism, capitalism will show it how to set about its business.”—*Macdonald: The Socialist Movement.*

CHAPTER IV

FORCES PRODUCING SOCIALISM, SPIRITUAL

WE have seen that socialism is to be regarded as a logical and natural part of that great world movement whose political expression was a demand for democracy in government. We have next to see how this demand reaches its culmination in the desire that the political democracy be used to establish an industrial and social democracy, in place of the present oligarchy of wealth. We may perhaps best proceed in this attempt by enumerating and examining the various phases of civilisation that may seem to call for this radical change in industrial and social institutions.

Civilisation may be defined as the sum total of social heredity. Of this inheritance by far the most conspicuous element is the mass of material wealth and invention which have so changed the conditions of life on the earth. But this material inheritance is after all of less importance than the spiritual inheritance of sentiment and culture which would quickly supply the impulses and knowledge for the reproduction

of the material element if the latter should in any way be lost.

It is evident that changes in social institutions, and grounds for further changes, are constantly becoming apparent. In a general way we say that this is the progress of civilisation. This process is cumulative. Each stage embodies something from each of the preceding stages and gives rise to its successor by a process of natural and inevitable evolution. It is often questioned whether the ground of each successive stage is to be found purely in material conditions, which are largely an inheritance from the preceding stage.

Not to enter too deeply into the question of the ultimate sources of social forces, we may at least conclude that we find them working *through* knowledge, ideals, and sentiments. That these may have had an origin depending largely on prevalent economic conditions we may admit, but they must be examined *in ipse*. They are comprised in the social heredity as apart from the material and biological heredity. It is with this non-material body of social heredity, forming the spiritual element of civilisation, that we are first concerned in seeking to know the forces underlying the socialist movement.

In this aspect civilization embraces all the educational and institutional machinery which

is so vital a factor in the environment of each individual born into the civilised community. The forces of this spiritual inheritance set up certain powerful antagonisms with some of the natural instincts of man and also tend to strongly reinforce other instincts which are naturally weak. In the first place they tend to make him pro-social instead of anti-social. He must perforce become somewhat socialised. In the second place he is taught to employ his reason instead of the method of trial and error. He thus comes to rely on systematic effort rather than on luck. The institutions of civilisation are constantly becoming more and more such that effort is rewarded with certainty and nothing is left to chance. Organisation is accomplishing its work so that the institution of society possesses ever greater internal and external harmony.

The efficiency of the individual life is thus promoted by the education which helps it to adapt itself to its surroundings, and by the institutions by which its surroundings are in a measure adapted to its own nature. The individual's powers are thus extended. Want is unnecessary to those who have productive effort to contribute, and a pleasure economy is ready to be installed in which men will not feel themselves so much driven by want as lured by de-

sire. Leisure becomes attainable for the majority largely as a result of the conservation and systemisation of resources through institutional control. All this follows as the general effect of the spiritual influences arising through the advance of civilisation.

But the direct effect of the progress of civilisation on the spiritual life is also to be noted. The larger conception of the unity of life, its oneness in time and space, is a necessary result of the knowledge growing out of better methods of investigation and communication. And not only the conception of the unity of life but that unity itself contributes to this advance in the state of civilisation. With communication practically universal the conflict between incompatible ideas becomes ever fiercer, and the survival of the fittest alone assured.

All this allows for a broader socialisation than has yet been seen. Indeed socialisation may be deemed almost synonymous with the spiritual aspect of civilisation. And this increase in socialisation reacts to the further advancement of civilisation, with the most important consequences. For it is not improvement in the arts applied to inanimate nature that tells most for the progress of civilisation, but in those that apply to human relations. This improvement is well summed up in the term socialisation, the

adaptation of the individual to live in society, particularly that society, let us hope, which has been previously adapted to receive and welcome him.

Under civilisation are however several spiritual influences not directly implied in the term socialisation. As the first of these we may mention the regard for justice. This regard for justice springs from a high development of individuality alone. Recognition of and regard for individuality itself is a necessary preliminary. And an enlightened individuality cannot fail to result in an enhanced sense of justice. Harmonious relations between individuals calls imperatively for a recognition of the necessity of justice. Injustice even if in my favour gives me but temporary benefit and results inevitably in my injury in the long run. It is to my advantage that the whole society to which I belong should prosper. Injury to any member will react on all if I belong to a thoroughly civilised community. Only by a series of continued unjust advantages could this tendency of injustice to injure me be overcome and result in my permanent advantage. And as the disadvantages are cumulative these unjust advantages in my favor would have to be of increasing injustice, with a final disadvantage to me when the system finally breaks down, as it obviously must from its cumu-

lative and progressively increasing character. Hence enlightened individuality no less than sympathetic altruism demands the abolition of injustice.

Another tendency of civilisation is the comparative elimination of chance. Civilised man likes to reckon with certainty upon the results of his labours and is progressively more able to do so. In fact we may say that the progress of civilisation may be pretty accurately estimated by the progress in establishing a fixed reward for effort. Modern man turns to games of chance as a recreation in accordance with the well established law that sport exhibits a tendency to repeat the activities of comparatively primitive life. Now socialism seeks to eliminate chance so far as the individual is concerned from the entire realm of the business world. A day's certain wage replaces the uncertainties of the speculative entrepreneur's reward. This is about the only foundation for the charge of creating the dead level so often decried in socialism. It is thus seen to be in the direct line of civilisation.

Another consequence of civilisation is the systemisation of human endeavour. The savage works aimlessly, or at most by uncoördinated spurts of impulsive activity. His *now* and his *then*, and his *here* and his *there* are in no partic-

ular relation. The civilised man plans and executes. His acts are related to each other and to his purposes, in time and space. He thinks logically and works systematically. By this means he avoids the waste of the trial and result method of arriving at conclusions, and the friction of working at cross purposes with his environment. Socialism seeks to introduce this principle of action into the social and industrial world. At present nobody plans the general conduct of society or business. It certainly is not the function of the state to do so under the *laissez faire* policy. Each individual business man is working with the most imperfect knowledge of the plans of every one else and frequently at cross purposes when he does know them. Even if perfectly informed he could not be depended upon to work in harmony with others when actuated and directed only by his own impulses. Hence the business and social world is a chaos ruled at long range only by the law of supply and demand, and judged only by the final results in national survival or decay.

Civilisation implies moreover a rise from the purely physical to the mental plane. This socialism provides for by its method which is that of mental comparison and decision rather than that of physical struggle or material competition.

That civilisation has arrived at a stage where this advance is to be expected is apparent from the conscious purposes manifested by societies as a whole. Great phrases like those made current during the French Revolution reveal the common thought in the minds of many. Ideals for which men fight and to which they devote themselves in times of peace bear testimony to the fact that man's intelligence can at last be appealed to otherwise than by force or by the pressure of material want. The conduct of society like the conduct of the individual is ready to take on an ethical and consciously responsible character. It is reaching the years of discretion.

The æsthetic instinct is closely allied to the ethical. The true, the beautiful, and the good go together. It is no accident that most artists are socialists. The artist feels the need of social justice more keenly than the rest of his fellows. Poverty is a blot on the social landscape. It is not merely that the artist wants justice for himself, he can see no beauty in an inharmonious and jarring society. Moral and æsthetic order involve social order, which can never be attained under our present system of industrial and social anarchy; at least not until leaders of all sorts become more far-seeing than they are likely

to become, with the assistance of all sorts of governmental education and research, for many ages.

All sciences are capable of furnishing a peculiar beauty which is perceived through the contemplation of their various forms of harmony. Now the science of sociology has only the beauty of harmonious human relations to offer. The real sociologist must perforce be a reformer. Whether he turns to socialism or not, he is profoundly dissatisfied with our present industrial system and with the society which depends on it. It is true that some historians profess to admire our institutions and their beneficent effects. Such regard is born only from a comparison with previous even more chaotic industrial systems. It would never be independently suggested by a study of present conditions in the light of present standards of efficiency.

The insistence of the socialists on the importance of the immediate improvement of the physical and material conditions of the masses has been quite erroneously ascribed to a preoccupation with the grossly material aspects of civilisation. This interest in the material welfare of the masses, invariably in evidence throughout socialistic thought, is shown in pleas for a sympathetic attitude toward the privations of poverty, and is usually set forth by contrast-

ing it with the superabundance of the opulent. This particular form of presentation is unfortunate, for it naturally calls forth the charge of envy. It is easily explained otherwise. Starting with the desire to prove that this miserable condition of the poverty stricken is unnecessary and remediable, it is most natural that the material means by which it might be assuaged should be suggested as a basis for comparison. We may well believe that the source of the comparison may be found in this consideration rather than purely in motives of envy.

Furthermore we should note that the validity of this appeal rests upon and presupposes a ready response to humanitarian motives; that its effectiveness is in direct proportion to such responsiveness. Can we expect this appeal to increase in effectiveness? The answer that we make to this question depends upon our views as to the increasing prevalence of humanitarian sentiments. That such sentiments are upon the whole becoming more powerful is probably commonly admitted. Various movements of the last century point in this direction. In the realm of law we find the punitive idea gradually superseded by the reformative aim, in religion the idea of an avenging Deity is displaced by that of a forgiving Father, in art the slightest suggestion of pain is fatal, in music there is a progress

towards the peaceful and harmonious as opposed to the dissonant striving symphony, in literature the century is distinguished from all preceding ages by the rise of the humanitarian spirit. Coming down to the latest movements of our own times, we find not only legitimate expressions of this spirit everywhere, but even the most grotesque exaggerations, viz., the abolition of corporal punishment of children in the school and in the home, vegetarianism, the anti-vivisection movement, the legacies for the care of orphaned canines, etc.

In appealing to this growing sentiment the socialist finds ample justification for criticism of many prevailing conditions for the workers. He is able to make a strong comparison between the state of the toiler for wages and the slave. If he makes the most of this opportunity it is but distinctly to his credit. He seeks only to relieve suffering that is in no wise due to the consequences of individual action. This is far indeed from the mawkish sentimentality with which he is often charged. His greater sensitiveness to the results of social injustice is merely an evidence of his advanced state of sympathy. This increased sensitiveness cannot fail to indicate an advanced position in human development, for it is most pronounced among most highly civilised peoples. Humanitarianism is one of

the essentials of civilisation. The socialist hopes for the advance of his cause through its increase.

If we examine briefly the probabilities regarding the increase of this sentiment we shall discover no reason to believe that it is to cease in its growth. Sympathy is an elemental emotion that follows our comprehension of the emotional states of others. Hence the cultivation which accompanies civilisation brings in its train the enlargement of this sentiment. We may mention as one of the factors of this increased comprehension, the view promulgated by the doctrine of human evolution. This has by placing man in a series with all living organisms made him seem to be related to all forms of living creatures, and very closely to his fellow men. Its effect has been hence to minimise distinctions of family, class, nationality, and even race, so far as the question of their common humanity is concerned.

Another modern force tending to increase sympathy is found in those forms of art which cause one to lose his personality temporarily in that of another. This is one of the distinct missions of the drama and to an even greater extent of the novel, for to it they chiefly owe their interest and success. But it cannot fail to produce this inner comprehension of the feelings of another that is the basis of sympathy. Interest in "how

the other half lives" cannot fail to be aroused. And the enormous increase in these forms of art thereby becomes a force for the increase of sympathy.

Again philanthropy has become an organised systematic institution engaging the whole time and attention of hundreds of educated workers and the interests of many of the well to do. It furnishes an outlet for the humanitarian feelings of the latter, but more important by far, it brings them somewhat into contact with the more unfortunate part of humanity. This results in a more intimate knowledge of the miseries endured by the poverty stricken and eventually leads to some consideration of the grounds and causes of their unfortunate condition. A less fatalistic view of the inevitableness of poverty is born of more accurate knowledge of its causes. It is seen to depend, in part at least, on the faults of society. Science has greatly aided this more accurate diagnosis by displacing the teaching of the older theology that suffering follows only from personal transgression of the law, as the direct and heaven sent consequence of sin. Instead of asking, "Which has sinned, this man or his father?" science seeks to know by what unfortunate combination of circumstances the maladjustment arose.

Nor does the fatalism of predestined ill longer

hold undisputed sway over the natural pity for the fallen. The larger comprehension of the sources of such evils, portrayed as by Dickens for example, has led people's minds into more practical if less self-satisfied lines of reflection. Nor is the conviction that undeserved suffering exists, so frequently overcast as formerly by the belief that a kindly Providence has relieved well meaning people of all responsibility. The resulting release both from the view of providential tribulation against which it would be impious as well as useless to contend, and from the sense of irresponsibility following from the doctrine of predestination, has left humanity free to remedy human ills. A vastly better comprehension of social responsibility is resulting.

Thus far the rise of humanitarianism has been taken as *sui generis*. It is in fact intimately associated with the spread of Christianity, although not demonstrably dependent on that movement either for its initial impulse or for its development. Christianity itself involves many forces tending to humanitarianism, inconsiderable only if taken singly. In general the great emphasis placed on the other regarding impulses leads inevitably to an affirmative answer to the query adopted as distinctively Christian, "Am I my brother's keeper?" As such, Christianity has preached the brotherhood of man,

with the Golden Rule as the concrete embodiment of its doctrine. The socialist of every creed has always appealed strongly to this motive, and the appeal like that to sympathy is increasingly effective. Socialism has been well defined in the words of Frances E. Willard as "Applied Christianity."¹¹ That a religion of such ideals could not fail to provide a basis for social reform is obvious. The ideal of personal righteousness demands the righteous society, if such an individual is to survive. Moreover, it implies the righteous society as its fulfilment.

The similarity of the aim of Christianity and that of socialism will become still more apparent when we consider the method of socialism, and find that socialism not only adopts the cardinal Christian doctrine of non-resistance, but eschews that refined warfare manifesting itself as competition. It may be stated without hesitation that every practical admonition of the Christian religion is reaffirmed by socialism. To be sure, supernatural sanctions are not given or at least emphasised, but rational sanctions replace or reinforce these.

Even the other-worldliness of Christianity usually so objectionable to the socialist has con-

¹¹ "It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied." Address at the National W. C. T. U. Convention at Buffalo in 1897.

tributed to the success of his movement, for it has led to the despising of material wealth and the struggle therefor. Hence it has weakened the spirit of competition by this renunciation, as it has that of warfare by the doctrine of non-resistance.

It has been shown that Christianity has as one of its essential basic elements the recognition of the importance of the individual self-consciousness. It is the religion of selfhood before it can be the religion of altruism. But this emphasis on the importance of the individual self-consciousness has other and very far-reaching applications. For the personality is subject to progressive enlargement by the taking in of elements more and more alien to that narrowly individual self which is the essence of the individuality, before the latter is enlightened by self-consciousness. The earliest and most primary extension of this purely individual self-consciousness occurs in the institution of the family. Here each member feels the first enlargement of his personality—feels himself identified in material and spiritual interests with another. The mother and the child,—the father and the child,—the father and the mother,—finally the father, mother and child, become firmly and more or less permanently united.

Soon we find this community of interests ex-

tended with the extension of the family circle. The gens and the tribe are successively felt to be a part of the now somewhat socialised self. More dimly but nevertheless in a real sense the individual sees that his welfare is bound up with the welfare of his fellows. In the period of nationalism, which historically follows these barbarous aggregations of men, the "consciousness of kind" becomes more marked and takes on definite form expressed in systematically organised institutions. To the virtue of loyalty, at first directed to wife and child and later to chief, is superadded that of patriotism, or loyalty in the abstract, to the group idea as expressed in principles and institutions.

That man could rest satisfied in this devotion to an abstraction is hardly to be expected. Accordingly we find that he tends on the one hand to make his idea of the nation synonymous with humanity, and on the other to give concrete expression to his devotion in religious worship. It is a great mistake to divorce the term religion from its possibly original meaning, that which binds together. It is the idea of the oneness of all nature, especially as most significant, of all human nature, that underlies all religion. Any religion that puts the emphasis elsewhere than on humanity is but a pseudo-religion. We must expect then that the culmination of social self-

consciousness must be a religion of humanity, a universal religion. Society's selfconscious existence acquires a new significance in its own eyes, and the newly emancipated and enfranchised ensemble of mankind goes forth with the resolve to attain and preserve a thoroughly integrated life for itself as a whole. Humanity has attained its majority.

This coming of age of society is quite analogous to the narrower coming of age of the individual. It is accompanied by the rational perception of its own integrity, and a conscious reinforcement of its purposes through the will. A plan is progressively laid out and adopted after deliberation. There follows an adaptation of means to ends and a discarding of the outworn method of trial and error wherever feasible.

This application of social selfconsciousness may be noted a little further from the point of view of the individual. It is agreed by all students of sociology that man is becoming progressively advanced in social selfconsciousness. This growth may be traced through several stages. We have first the stage of individual warfare, in which each man is instinctively egotistic, in a purely naïve self-seeking. Next we find him conscious of his purposes; and first singly, then in combination with little cliques of his like spirited comrades, he aggrandises himself at the ex-

pense of natural resources or of his less actively self-seeking or weaker fellows. We next find a whole society made up of individuals who have reached this stage. Life is on all sides a constant struggle for dominion. This is the conscious purpose of each. Man becomes cynical because he is well aware that each is thoroughly and often avowedly selfish. But now more permanent groups are formed who agree to arbitrate their differences in the interests of the group domination over the mass. Thus we find the aristocrat lording it over the commons, the patrician over the plebeian, the capitalist over the proletariat.

But there is at all times a tendency on the part of the individual members of the privileged group to break the implicit or "gentleman's" agreement on which their concord depends, with the consequence that the members of the group encourage the making of laws to preserve the existing order, to uphold the state, or latterly to "regulate business." Anything is better than the constant defection of associates to compete against the group for individual advantage, even a government that seems to limit the powers of privilege.

That this government at first develops under the auspices of a chief as ruler need not blind us into believing the fiction taught by the older

historians that it is the personality of the ruler that is the main force in establishing or upholding the government or in fact in any way responsible for it. For a stage is finally reached where this ruler becomes not indispensable and the group along with the unprivileged revolt against monarchy; that is, the group refuses longer to do homage to the one for the sake of the prestige thereby gained over the many. A limited voting class thereupon appears, to represent the class of the socially selfconscious. But this class becomes larger and larger, resulting first in manhood, then in adult suffrage.

This increasing social selfconsciousness has two more steps to take. First, society as a whole must become socially selfconscious to such a degree as to assume direction over all socially important affairs. Secondly, the individuals composing this selfconscious society must each become completely socialised, realising in his own consciousness the total aim of the society of which he is a member. These successive steps give rise to the two future forms of society, based respectively upon socialism and upon anarchism.

It is not to be supposed that society can become selfconscious *per saltum* and *en masse*. The capitalist group is naturally the first of modern groups to become so. Formerly the most advanced group was undoubtedly the clerical.

In considering his own interests each capitalist is aware that they are quite similar to those of other capitalists. He knows to whom to turn for sympathy and aid in his endeavours to secure favorable legislation. For an increasing number of purposes he is at one with his associates. It is not surprising that the "gentlemen's agreements" by which rates of fare are set by supposedly competing railroads at what the traffic will bear and the price of milk advanced simultaneously by numerous separate companies, to mention only two flagrant cases, should be far and away in advance of the similar agreements among workingmen's organisations. The camaraderie of men of wealth is stimulated by the enjoyment of pleasures in common and the banquet is typically the common meeting ground of great business rivals.

In time this comradeship is noticed by those who are exploited through the laws enacted at the behest of this coterie. Bitterness springs up, but there is for a long time no concerted action on the part of the exploited; largely because of hope, it may be, that each will be taken into the self-favoured group, and for the further reason that there has heretofore been the opportunity for those possessing initiative to rise into this dominating group. It will be my contention in the following pages to show that this op-

portunity is gradually becoming denied. Even if this were not the case, we have at least to notice how the class conscious position of each of the two bodies is becoming constantly more distinct, and as such more and more strongly demanding every hour that equality of opportunity shall prevail.

But we should distinguish clearly between this class interest and the more basic social selfconsciousness that we found to be the most significant sociological characteristic of our times. While social selfconsciousness is the general and diffused notion that society is in a larger sense the self, and as such to be defended and enhanced, class interest is the rational perception that the narrowly individual self is at one in interests and purposes with others who are situated in a like condition. Of course the social selfconsciousness reinforces this perception and receives a peculiarly intimate field of application in this narrow social self. We find then here and there locally and fitfully arising about certain trades and industries as centres of crystallisation, the phenomenon known widely through the preaching of socialist agitators as "class consciousness," which might be briefly defined as class interest reinforced and informed by social consciousness.

The rise of class consciousness therefore im-

plies that the integration of selfconsciousness has proceeded far enough to permit the *social me*, i. e., society as conceived by the individual in question, to act as the background or screen on which is to be projected the image of this enlarged or group *individual me*. We may add that this cannot occur until the social me has attained a sufficient degree of definiteness and integrity to admit of being thus used as an apperceiving mass. The group is thus seen as the larger individual *me* and so related to the social *me*.

This is an entirely different matter from the forced associations which arise from the attempt to secure mutual aid in protection and aggrandisement. From such forced associations the *me* has never become emancipated. There is no relation between the individual and the group, for the individual is not regarded by himself or others as distinct from the group. These instinctive associations have arisen everywhere that men have found advantage in them. On the other hand one would hardly claim that conjugal love, parental love, friendship, loyalty to party, or patriotism, took their rise from these considerations of forced association. The latter arise rather from a voluntary identification of the self with the larger circle of fellow beings.

As such they are a conscious extension of the already somewhat differentiated ego.

We must then regard the development of class consciousness as a step in this process of broadening the self-inclusiveness. It follows the rise of social selfconsciousness by presenting the class as a larger ego related to society by the former. It will eventually become coextensive with the society postulated by the larger social selfconsciousness, and will thus form the medium through which the individual directly apprehends the fulness of society.

While social consciousness gets its impulse still from religious or altruistic feelings, class consciousness rests upon the more tangible foundation of a broadened selfishness. It cannot be too strongly insisted that the latter does not require a changed human nature, except perhaps a somewhat more broadly intelligent human nature. Intelligence is subject to education; class consciousness can be developed in men not of exceptional calibre. It is not a Quixotic mission to attempt to awaken this feeling in the common mind. To this extent at least we must admit that socialism is not impracticable.

Class consciousness is moreover bound to result in no other form of society than socialism. The particular class consciousness certain to re-

sult thus is of course that of the lower or proletarian class. Suppose that this whole class should be raised to the ruling power by some overturn of material conditions while the present institutions of privilege were maintained; the whole movement would be but an interchange of individual positions. Indeed the socialists have been accused by the indiscriminating or interested critics of wishing to accomplish just this. These critics ignore the patent fact that the proletarians are not seeking to adjust themselves to the present perpetuated conditions of privilege, but are seeking to adjust the conditions to themselves—to abolish privileges in which they *as proletarians* cannot share.

The socialist unification of society results from the obvious fact that while the aristocracy could not embrace all or any considerable part of society, the democracy cannot but embrace all of it. It is almost axiomatic that "they will rule who can." Hence the masses will rule just as soon as they realise their power and their class interest. If they rule according to their own desires, as we may assume will be the case, they must be guided by those principles of government that tend to favour the masses. On no other basis will they be able to unite. It is on this fact that the inherent strength of the idealism of democracy rests. Democracy is powerless to

unite on any other basis than ideals, i. e., socially perceived purposes. Hence socialism is inevitable under real democracy if the masses be class conscious. Social consciousness which precedes and is in general preliminary to class consciousness, lends assurance of permanence and power.

We may examine the development of class consciousness a little further from the point of view of the individual. We shall find that it is a more complex perception than the more primary social consciousness. It is a most peculiar but suggestive fact that a man will fight for his country far sooner than he will fight for his class. His first allegiance is to the whole society of which he feels himself to be a part. This may result from his sense that while his relations with the whole are fewer, they are more harmonious than with those of the group. At any rate a general sense of nationality manifested in patriotism has been universally the historical preliminary to the discovery that after all one's interests are more directly identified with those of one's economic class. It takes some experience and much understanding to arrive at the knowledge that the welfare of the nation is not necessarily the welfare of the individual citizen.

Nevertheless, each has learned by this identification of self with the nation to look outside

himself. It is later that his social consciousness becomes concentrated in his class. Then the measure of his relation to society as a whole becomes expressed through the intermediate term of his relation to his class and of his class to society. His social orientation is now sufficiently complete so that having identified himself with his class, he now tries to make his class predominant in society. While his *real* social self is the class, his *ideal* social self is society.

It would be a mistake to consider that the workings of this class consciousness as a force producing socialism is confined to the lower class. It operates with quite as great force among those who find that they belong to a class more favourably situated. In this case the tendency to extend the limits of the class so as to include all who are deemed worthy is quite as strong. In both cases the individual is related to his class through a broad selfishness and his class is related to society through altruism expressing itself in terms of the ideal. Class consciousness is the lever with which the spiritual forces enumerated will endeavour to materialise their yearning for social justice.

CHAPTER V

FORCES PRODUCING SOCIALISM, MATERIAL

THE spiritual forces predominating at the present day have been seen to have a strong trend towards socialism. If we turn to a consideration of those material forces which are increasingly called into being under our form of civilisation, we shall find that here, too, we are being urged toward a remedy for existing economic evils.

The most marked characteristic of our times is the increase in coöperation. It will not require any enumeration of conditions or events to demonstrate this. Associations of all sorts are witness to this tendency. The progressive organisation of business, uniting under one system the combined efforts of thousands of superintendents and workmen is the most conspicuous feature of modern industry. Not only the intense efforts of the labour unions to unite all workers for the purpose of collective bargaining with the captains of industry commanding the vast aggregations of capital, but the numerous voluntary associations for every conceivable

purpose, strikingly demonstrate this tendency of our time.

Although the advantages of coöperation must have been apparent very early in the history of man, it was for a long time impossible for him to make any extended use of the principle. Association is necessary to this form of enterprise. This demands a sense of security from the fear of personal attacks by a partner. If we note the insecurity from such betrayals of confidence at the present time we can understand that not without a considerable degree of social organization can extensive coöperation become a reality. All the while, however, the demand for coöperation is increasing. The vast proportions of modern business which have followed upon worldwide communication and intercourse have demanded this great increase in associated industry as a greatly desirable economy. Moreover, this enlarged coöperation is absolutely demanded by the system arising from the modern means of production. It is that organization which follows on scientific discovery of the methods most productive. The means of production have been marvellously improved by the invention both of tools and processes. But the utilisation of these improved means demands the co-operative efforts of many workers.

The association of workers in coöperative ac-

tivity is hardly most natural to mankind. Man is by nature independent and freedom loving. It consequently takes considerable pressure to get him to work harmoniously with his fellows. The schooling of men to work together has been the main task of the capitalist system. This work has been well done: few nationalities but are able to work together for wages. The historical rôle of slavery was to make a beginning in this direction. The day of the necessity of the capitalist and of the slave owner alike is past.

Greater progress in the line of coöperation waits on greater justice alone. For the worker will participate freely in a common task only when he is assured that justice will prevail in the distribution of the product. Hence the further establishment of justice will bring as an immediate consequence an increase in the practice of coöperation. Even our present coöperation among men of wealth would be impossible without the regulation of business by the law. For the law determines in a measure the relation between investors and hence the return on investment which each may hope to receive.

It is quite natural that coöperation in business should be at present, in the preliminary stages, of a militant nature; at first defensive,

later predatory. For this is but observing the order in which all coöperation has arisen. But we should note as of extreme importance the fact that as a predatory band the individuals co-operating cannot be inclusive of the whole people. While in what we may believe will be the final form of the coöperative combination, as a band engaged in the conquest of nature, they can hardly be otherwise than all inclusive. This stage is yet to come. It answers strictly to our definition of socialism so far as form of organisation is concerned.

The probability of the progressive abolition of industrial competition may be taken up a little more at length. For of course it is competition that is displaced in each instance by coöperation. It is hardly to be denied that the latter is gaining rapidly on the former at the present time. The question is what this change is due to and whether it may be expected to continue and increase.

In general we may account for the replacement of competition by coöperation in business as due to the economic law that whenever the advantages of probable victory over a rival are less than the saving to be effected by combination with that rival, then that combination will take place and coöperation will supersede competition. For instance two milk companies will

remain competitors so long as the profits prospective as a result of the extra business which either may attract away from its rival are greater than would be the saving obtainable from a share in the combined business. When this point is passed they unite. This is the method of the elimination of competition when the competitors are of approximately equal strength. The process when they are not of equal strength is well understood. It consists simply in underselling the rival until his resources are exhausted or until he is willing to accept favourable terms for combination. Occasionally of course a losing concern lingers long, making little if any profit, and is tolerated on account of its small capacity for diminishing the profits of its rivals. The methods of monopoly formation which are usually related to the foregoing process will be taken up later. What is sought here is merely to understand how coöperation grows at the expense of competition.

Coöperation is a tolerably good measure of civilisation, for it marks out the material consequences of the civilisation almost perfectly. This will be seen if we consider the nature of the life of civilised man as compared with his life in the natural state. Man as man has probably never lived and worked entirely alone. It is quite probable that he has always from the be-

ginning deserved the name of the political animal. But we can readily find him under primitive conditions hunting, fishing, and foraging quite alone. He early learned coöperation in fighting. When he began to till the land he worked largely alone at first, at most changing work when the character of the task required. Just as soon as the character of his neighbours made such a procedure possible he began to trade with them. This is a sort of coöperation. He learns to rely upon his fellows to supply a part of his needs and engages in turn to supply a part of theirs. But this arrangement is of a temporary nature and in each individual instance more or less unpremeditated and dependent on the exigencies of the moment. It is voluntary and capricious. Later the wage system is introduced (to pass over slavery as an involuntary mode of coöperation). Under this system men gather together for regular, systematised coöperation at the behest of a capitalist master who prescribes the mode of production and even guarantees its results — for a consideration in the form of profits. But this coöperation still seems to be incomplete for it ends before the best purpose of coöperation begins, at the distribution of the product. That is still subject to the rule of competition, manifesting itself as the competitively fixed price of labour.

Hence the beneficent results of coöperation in industry are largely lost by the workers and the appellation of "wage slavery" to their condition obtains justification.

It remains to consider the most extensive application of the principle of coöperation at the present time, that to government. In fighting as might be expected man has always been a step in advance of the form prevailing in industry, for it was in this that he was forced to coöperate first. Accordingly we find that he has formed more or less voluntary associations called nations, the essential aspect of which is their significance as fighting units. From fighting enemies to providing for the general needs, which is after all only a sort of fighting against the parsimony of nature, is however a short and easily taken step; especially if the conditions imposed by nature are such as to render it necessary for national survival. Hence we have the nation not only providing for the common defence, but establishing means of communication, looking after the protection of persons and property, providing for the dissemination of information, and for the general education through a system of public schools. Finally it must logically be extended to serve all those economic and social needs which are common to the generality of its citizens. That the state has

been misused by various agencies in the interests of such objects as the aggrandisement of individuals, as an instrument of religious propaganda, as a vehicle of capitalistic exploitation, as a bulwark of privilege, etc., should not blind us to its true and logical function as an all convenient agency to provide for the general welfare.

We have seen that coöperation as a principle of industrial action has increased in importance as civilisation has advanced, and that it is replacing competition by a process of necessary and quite inevitable economic evolution. We shall find that what may be named as the second great characteristic of industry under civilisation renders the advent of socialism not so much inevitable as desirable, as the only means of escape from an otherwise intolerable situation. This second marked characteristic of civilised industry is the division of labour.

Division of labour is not as might be thought dependent on coöperation, but arises independently and is a primary phenomenon of vital organisation. It is a natural and invariable consequence of the inclusion of dissimilar elements in every organic structure. It is quite as much the cause as the result of coöperation. We find it among the cells of all but the simplest forms of life and among the members of

every species of plant and animal. The primary division especially in the latter is that of sex. It makes for economy of function and for divergent progressiveness, but it has certain unfortunate consequences to the individual; for on account of it he becomes an incomplete entity. The unit of society is not the individual: at its lowest terms it is the family, temporary or permanent. In other words division of labour tends directly to induce specialisation with all the important consequences of the latter.

This specialisation is the universal consequence of the division of labour: we find it accompanying any possible diversity of function among the cells of an organism. It is also natural among the members of any closely knit organisation, such as the swarm of bees. Differentiation has here taken place as the result of specialisation until the unit is not the single bee but the swarm, and the whole functions not as an organisation but as an organism.

There seems to be no limit to the process of specialisation. Physical and mental characteristics seem to be responsive to its demands, until significant individuality is all but lost. Since human society furnishes no exception to this tendency, we are here in grave danger of a catastrophe which civilisation has accidentally

exposed us to. The effort of blind nature to effect economies normally results in the substitution of the organism for the organisation. As we saw, this means the sinking of the individual in the whole. There are two alternative possibilities outside of this one. The first, proposed by the extreme individualist, is virtually to do away with association altogether: the second, proposed by the socialist, is to adhere strictly to the principle of the organisation while retaining all the advantages of association. Either of these two proposals demands voluntary action by society, or its members; for we shall otherwise be absorbed in the organic society that nature assisted by its unconscious agents, the forces of the business world, is establishing in accordance with the natural law according to which economies are sought in lower processes at the expense of higher ones.

In modern industry we have this exemplified in the most striking manner. In the first place over-specialisation produces one-sided, incomplete personalities wholly dependent on the body social, and incapable of exchanging occupations with other members. In the second place it results in a comparatively static society. It inclines to take on the characteristics of the organism rather than those of the organisation, and as such it is subject to the laws of slow

change of the former as against the comparative adaptability of the latter.

Under specialisation efficiency of the static form cannot be denied. There is a decided positive gain in this respect. But it is at the loss of true individuality and consequently of social fluidity. In society this is manifested by a more or less rigid system of castes, by a highly specialised series of occupations, usually intensified into hereditary guilds, and often based on actual differences of form as well as function, and by the entirely logical assigning of the governmental and managing functions to a class. That this perceived efficiency is often urged in favour of monarchical or aristocratic government as against democracy is hence quite accountable. But the human being tenaciously proclaims his right to be an individual entity, and so protests against the unnecessary specialisation which would steal away his opportunity to become such.

The division of labour in human society has come about in a rather uncalculated manner. Only to a very limited extent is it the result of individual choice. This choice, when operative, we may suppose will be exercised in accordance with the possession of native capacity consciously perceived: for one chooses that in which he believes he has capacity as demonstrated by previous success. The chance ele-

ment of nature also enters along with other factors. The opportunities of time and place circumscribe or determine the limits of the possible or at least the advantageous employments, causing one occupation to be taken up at greater advantage than another. These native capacities and natural opportunities will always vary, no matter how ideally the conscious development of the social environment is planned. Natural ability and natural opportunity are then the normal basis of the division of labour.

But man has cunningly contrived another and far more potent cause which may and usually does largely disregard these normal bases. This as we have seen is specialisation in industry. In place of the natural opportunity offered under nature, we have the most highly and ingeniously devised localisation and segregation of industries on the one hand and the most artificial and arbitrary classification of workers on the other. In the first place occupations are designed without the slightest reference to the good of their future employees; in the second place the employees are given little if any opportunity to exercise their choice of occupation.

Thus in dealing with specialisation we are dealing with an artificial factor in the mode of industry, which like most artificial elements is capable of infinitely greater development than

those purely natural in origin. Specialisation here becomes the conscious attempt to enhance one faculty at the expense of others because by this arrangement coupled with the division of labour, greater productiveness results. This specialisation proceeds without any necessary reference to natural ability and often in direct defiance thereof. It is a powerful agency in increasing productiveness and is about the only form of socialisation that takes place at the expense of the individuality. Indeed it is surprising how many of our social evils can be directly traced to its malevolent influence.

Moreover, it cannot be denied that capitalism favours it or indeed that a progressive increase in its sphere is not inevitable under capitalism. It is too patent a fact directly before us. Every workshop of whatever kind is an example of this truth. The self-seeking of industry for the sake of the product can never lead in any other direction.

A division of labour that springs from personal choice for the sake of the producer is an entirely different matter and is as desirable as the former plan is undesirable. Such choice is not favoured under the competitive system for the worker is obliged to consider the product rather than himself at every turn. Nothing must be allowed to handicap his striving for the

utmost possible productivity. He is obliged to keep up to the competitively set pace. Standards of wages and livings are thus determined for him, and he dare not disregard them. But the system springing from individual choice and natural opportunity will efface the evils of over-specialisation in industry and leave much of its beneficent results. The gratification of individual choice and the utilisation of native capacity have been shown to be entirely in harmony. Only the driving force of competitive standards is responsible for the evil, and with this eliminated specialisation assumes only normal proportions.

But meantime specialisation thus carried on to the worker's disadvantage is becoming an ever more prominent feature of our industrial system. It is not commercially profitable that a workman be concerned in any other process than that in which he is immediately employed. Hence any attempt on his part to learn the trade in its entirety is discouraged. It is difficult to see how anything in competitive industry can ever overcome this tendency. The workman is not permanently valuable: so that no considerations of his welfare can enter into the matter. That is his affair and not his master's, for more unspoiled hands can be had at the same or even cheaper wages. Thus he is not even cared for

as was the slave. There is a growing tendency to regard labour as something apart from the individual labourer. It is assumed that labour is bought rather than the labourer hired. Relations between employer and employee become dehumanised. Over-specialisation brings no direct harm upon those in control of industry. And labour as a commodity becomes the cheaper as specialisation becomes the more intense. Socialism alone by enabling the labourer to protect his own interests as a labourer can overcome the growing evils arising from over-specialisation. We shall see how this will be accomplished when we come to consider the method of socialism.

The two most salient features of our modern industrial system, coöperation and division of labour, are both seen to favour the establishment of socialism. These remind us of a third feature, the factory system. The factory system exists as an independent factor in the industrial system. It is not essential to either coöperation or the division of labour, though it intensifies both greatly. Its significant sociological characteristic is that it requires the labourer to sell himself into slavery, a limited slavery both as regards duration and nature of occupation, to be sure, but nevertheless a real personal subjection to the factory boss. Formerly in the

period of household industries it was the products only that were sold. The worker's time and the use he should make of it remained his own. The custom which has replaced this private production depends partly on convenience, but more on the greater efficiency of work done under the immediate driving supervision of the boss. Besides, this system allows no misuse or misappropriation of materials, for as we have learned, locked doors prevent unlicensed exit with such goods.

The factory system results in the regimentation of labour. It thus facilitates coöperation. But it is doubtful if it would have reached proportions nearly so large if it had not been called for by the introduction of machinery. It does not entirely depend upon this cause as might be supposed, for it may develop as a consequence of coöperation alone or in conjunction with the division of labour. Its primary cause is the advantage in the direction of labour by the superintendent. This requires the presence of all the workers in one place. But where the work to be done requires nothing more than the following out of well standardised processes and where the raw materials are uniform in quality and easily portable, the factory system does not prevail unless the work requires special facilities not easily furnished in an isolated workroom.

Such facilities are power and certain sorts of machinery.

The consequences of the introduction of the factory system upon the conduct of industry are many and important. In the first place regular and prescribed hours of labour are insisted upon. The method of doing work tends to become definitely standardised: the work room conditions are fixed. Finally a working rate, at least as a minimum, is established; and all employees are compelled to live up to it. Most important of all are the consequences that follow from the fact that it is the worker that is bought rather than the work. The worker engaging to follow instructions obediently, the superintendent or foreman becomes responsible for the quantity and quality of the product. The worker is but a temporary slave under his direction. Individuality in productive methods is entirely lost. Piece work in the factory is an anomaly: its true place is in the individual work shop. For there it is able to conform to the convenience of the home worker. In the factory the worker sells himself; it is the business of the foreman to make good use of him.

Since under the piece work system the product rather than the producer is paid for, this is by far the more proper system of remuneration. It is objectionable only because under it the

iron law of wages works without let or hindrance. It is showing the same tendency to displace the method of compensation proper to the factory, payment by time, much in the same way and for the same reason that wage labour supplants slave labour. The evils consequent to its further introduction will be an increase of those with which the "wage slave" is familiar. They are peculiar to a purely competitive system of industry and cannot be wholly or largely eliminated so long as that system prevails.

We leave further consideration of the methods of the present factory system and its alternative under competition for consideration in connection with the method of socialism, and proceed to consider another of the forces in modern industry tending toward socialism, namely, the introduction of machinery. The immense significance of this is promptly seen. Machinery in displacing hand workers has enabled one workman to turn out the product formerly requiring several workers. This workman would tend to receive the wage formerly received by all or at least the value of the product as thus increased, if he owned the machinery with which he turns out this increased product; but since the ownership of this machine requires capital and since capital is concentrated in relatively few hands, never wholly in those of the workers, it is the

capitalist who tends to receive the extra earnings economically attributable to the use of the machine. The use of machinery thus furnishes one of the bases of capitalism. It also allows of the great resulting increase in the productiveness of industry,—a greater surplus above the subsistence wage of the worker.

These effects are by no means of stationary or decreasing importance, for the introduction of machinery is proceeding at a constantly accelerating rate. This follows as a result of the application of scientific method to invention. Such application pays and is likely to pay increasingly in the future. Hence there is no reason to apprehend a diminution in the effects now being wrought. So when we point out the proportion of the product of industry received by the owner of capital, we are pointing to a phenomenon of increasing interest and importance.

Not only is the use of capital greatly extended by the introduction of machinery, but a train of consequences extends backward, through its aggravation of the factory system, with the division of labour and forced coöperation of the latter, each with the attendant ill effects already discussed.

Thus coöperation is extended through the multiplication of similar machines. Specialisation is enormously stimulated by the nature of

the machine itself. For the nature of the machine is distinctively to perform some one operation or set of operations. There is no variation in its process. The effect on the machine tender is to produce the counterpart of the machine—its complement. Moreover the machine is run under the direction of the factory boss and the factory thus enhanced in importance. The boss can to some extent direct its speed: hence the factory hands can be literally speeded up by machinery. This is the apotheosis of the factory system with all its baleful effects.

The prevalence as well as the intensification of the factory system is increased by the introduction of machinery, for several reasons. The distribution of power is greatly facilitated by the massing of the machines. The oversight over valuable and often intricate machinery is best accomplished in the factory. The housing of the larger machinery requires a building specially designed and given up to that use. The fact that a single machine often requires a regimentation of workers inconvenient or impossible in the household,—and in general the fact that it is easier to bring the worker to the machine than the machine to the worker, compels the adoption of the factory system.

We have seen then that the primary character-

istics of our industrial system; coöperation, division of labour, the factory system, and the introduction of machinery, all strongly suggest a socialistic form of management. We now pass to those material factors which more imperatively demand that the present system be given up or greatly modified. We may begin with the capitalistic appropriation of natural resources.

It has often been said that an outlet for the exploited labour population is to be found in a return to the land. This is only true if access to the land is to be had on nominal terms. Available land must be defined as land adjacent to markets or within reach of them by a carrier. But railroads can and do charge "what the market will bear." This means that the settler even if offered free land but subjected to these charges, is in anything but a free economic position. Moreover capital is required in modern farming, besides that involved in the purchase or hire of the land itself. This brings farming under the category of capitalistic enterprise and effectually debars the non-capitalistic worker. And while the field is still open to the small capitalist it is so only on terms dictated by the large capitalist.

Equality of opportunity can be had under a system of private land ownership only when all are treated alike in its apportionment. It is

obvious that this has never been the case in America since early colonial times if even then. At present even a measurable equality cannot be had. Economists have obstinately refused to consider this aspect of the system of the private ownership of land. It is undoubtedly true that the possession of land as a private right does strengthen family pride and stability. The same might with equal propriety be urged in favour of slavery.

But there are a few industries which require little land and comparatively little capital. Among these may be mentioned the various forms of small intensive farming, poultry raising, etc. These must be classed with home industries. The sweat shop is their prototype in manufacturing. They are inevitably brought into this class by the same causes; namely, by their dependence on the large capitalist. Express companies, the country merchant, etc., exact from them a heavy toll. For the very reason that they are in a measure open to the man with small capital they feel the full force of the competition of the vast army of the unemployed. And the small proprietor is subject to the same consumer's tax as the labourer. This phase of his environment will be discussed under capitalism.

The entry into the professions of large num-

bers of these nearly propertyless aspirants for success has been a natural result of the attempt on their part to escape from these conditions and secure at least a competence. Incidentally the professions have been degraded by this accession of those who have chosen their vocation rather than been chosen for it. Lacking capital, all sorts of efforts are made to develop money-making capacity out of innate ability or brain capital. Even sport is commercialised (not indeed professionalised). Any and everything that seems to promise a life free from the base servility exacted from the employee of the capitalist is looked upon with favour. No matter how unattractive otherwise, or how normally deficient in pecuniary reward, it is speedily crowded with those who will "work it for all it is worth." The civil service lists are filled notwithstanding the low salaries and the prospect of slow advancement. Thus we see the utter impossibility of individual independence under present economic conditions. The former opportunities are rapidly disappearing.

It only remains to view the material affairs of our civilisation as a whole in order to understand the method by which the economic world is ruled and material livelihood apportioned. The system prevailing is not a consciously planned system but a purely adventitious out-

come of the economic forces which we have mentioned.

All these material forces then may be seen to culminate in capitalism, the system in which industry is controlled by and through capital by an owner selected by competition in accumulativeness or rather acquisitiveness. According to this system the control which was previously exercised by the feudal barons by reason of their military prowess, and later by the nobility by virtue of their political position, is in these latter days exercised by a hereditary body of financial directors or owners who bear sway by reason of their wealth. These surround themselves with able advisors whose sole ambition is to increase the rate of returns on their master's investments and thereby "show results." These returns are in the form of a geometric ratio, doubling every five to fifteen years. Thus their power is ever increasing through spontaneously multiplying possessions.

It is difficult to believe with some advanced thinkers that this waxing industrial monarchy can ever fall of its own weight, for it automatically selects the fittest as managers, and unerringly weeds out incompetents. Lack of judgment means losses, and if continued or repeated, inevitable failure, thus resulting in the displacement of misplaced power. Hence only the com-

petent can long remain in charge. As a result capitalism maintains its directing ability.

Nor is there any sign that this competition among managers will fall away as does that between rival firms or corporations. Better intercourse between business factors in modern times allows instead of fiercer competition between managers. And recognition of the better manager is subject to the powerful pressure of greed looking for gains. Then too, the economies necessary as a result of the competition of widely separated competitors due to the better transportation of products will all the more tend to the elimination of the inefficient manager.

Nor can any degeneration of the persons composing the capitalist class themselves ever result disastrously to capitalism. The class is constantly recruited from the best material to be found in the lower classes. There is never a lack of worthy claimants for these positions of responsibility and privilege. Classes do not become sufficiently rigid to allow the dying out of the upper class. There seems then no means by which the capitalist system can work its own destruction except through the voluntary efforts of those not favourable situated under its régime.

On its material side capitalism shows no prospects of a decline. Its power is inherent in

the usefulness of capital, which is more and more an indispensable factor in production. Financing a proposition is but securing the consent of capital that the undertaking shall be carried out. Without this consent no undertaking involving the use of capital great or small can be inaugurated, and this consent can be withheld indefinitely. Labour can endure for some time but eventually must come to terms: not so with capital, which does not have to capitulate. This fact gives capital the whiphand over labour and would enable capitalists to crush labour completely were it not for the friction attending this form of competition. It is precisely the element of slavery remaining, namely the necessity of replacing the discharged labourers with raw recruits, that allows to labour the respite that it enjoys from utter bondage — from utter economic degradation.

Nor is the capitalist system of industry less successful on the side of productiveness. There is a continual gain in this respect. The periodic panics and crises attending the competitive system in its less organised days, and due to overproduction or rather to under consumption, are likely to be entirely eliminated, the one by the limiting of production, the other by the greater prodigality of the capitalist class itself. There is little probability that production in the better

organised industries will ever again fall far below or rise far above the perceived requirements. Industry is effectually controlled and regulated by the trusts. Science has been successfully invoked to the aid and direction of productive capacity, and to the effecting of desirable economies. Products and profits increase.

The characteristics of capitalism are such as might be expected from this account of its nature and functions. We have defined capitalism as the organisation of society under capitalists whose right to the title has been gained through industrial competition. This contest is strictly between the rival aspirants for the control of capital, and not as is commonly supposed between rival industrial concerns. That it appears in the form of a contest between the latter is but accidental and at the same time most unfortunate for the people at large, as it is absolutely unexcused by any useful outcome whatever. Precisely as during a war between rival claimants to a throne, not only are the actual contestants involved, but the whole country is drawn into the struggle. It might indeed be supposed that the struggle will redound to the ultimate benefit of the country in that the better or more warlike prince will be victorious and so selected as ruler, but it is extremely unfortunate that the munitions of war must be so liberally

provided. Besides, it is plain that this method of "natural selection" of capitalists in order to assure the proper direction of industry is exceedingly subject to interference by accidents which considerably nullify the most efficient working of the scheme.

In this "natural selection" of capitalists the fittest is he who happens upon the proper plan. This does not usually or at least necessarily imply any superior personal characteristics. It is the supremacy of the particular business that determines the supremacy of the particular capitalist. This ascendancy of the commercial enterprise itself depends more upon circumstances outside the personal qualities of the capitalist in question than upon his own worthiness. The lucky guess as to the position of ore lands, or as to the location of future cities, the inheritance of wealth, or the quiet tip acquired quite by accident, etc., often determine success or failure quite as much as personal excellence. We have thus a very unjust mode of determining the selection of capitalists as well as a very clumsy mode of exercising control over industry.

A general recognition of the inadequacy of this method of exercising control over industry is gradually gaining ground among all classes, but chiefly as might be expected among those who suffer the most hardships on account of its fail-

ure to function well, namely, the workers. These are fast becoming conscious of their position as a class, and there will inevitably follow a demand that a more efficient system for the control of industry be substituted.

Such a system is socialism, which presents a plan for the direct control of industry as opposed to the indirect method of capitalism. For where capitalism allows "natural selection" to determine between plans by eliminating the individuals identified with those rejected, socialism decides on the acceptance or rejection of the plans themselves. It is evident that the method of socialism is the more humane as well as the more just and efficient.

Reserving further discussion of this point to be considered under the Method of Socialism we may note that capitalism while not indeed working its own downfall is still proceeding to assume a form that will eliminate one of its evils — at the expense of intensifying others. For under capitalism competition is receiving an automatic check in two forms: first that of the labour unions, and second that of the trusts. Considering the deadly character of competition it would seem surprising that these spontaneous combinations had not sprung up earlier. They had to wait for class consciousness on the one hand, and for enlightened business interest on the other.

Besides competition itself has not been so severe in the past as at present owing to various disturbing factors. Among these on the side of capital was the expense incident to doing business at a distance, the monopoly arising by the aid of governmental or grafting politician politics, the natural monopoly, and the element of personal relation. Added to these or perhaps as a modification of the government aided monopoly is the patent monopoly. On the side of the workers have always been the sudden or unexpected demands for labour from various causes, such as wars, natural destructions, discoveries and inventions,—the latter sometimes though not usually producing an increased demand more than sufficient to offset the economies effected by the increased productiveness of labour. And although the labourer has actually at most stages been pressed hard against the limits of a bare existence wage, the improvidence and inefficiency of the labourer of marginal utility has allowed a slight surplusage to the average labourer over the existence wage. Again, as we have seen, resources in the form of unappropriated land have usually in this country until the present held out an alternative to the hard pressed wage slave.

Again the supply of workers is incompletely furnished unless wages are sufficient to keep the

marginal worker somewhat efficient. The worker cannot be replaced without some friction in the readjustment. Hence an employer who disturbed his labour force too frequently would find the replacing of the discharged members to be a task greater than the advantage gained. It is the latter fact alone that allows the labourer in the average case any respite from the downward urge of wages. Strangely enough specialisation aids to precisely the extent to which it has induced departure from the normal human type. For the friction of readjustment is thereby rendered the greater. But with the standardising of processes throughout all the plants of a particular industry, even this ceases to protect.

Again among those forms of industry employing large amounts of fixed capital such as railroads, we have under usual stable conditions a "gentlemen's agreement" corresponding to the armed truce of nations. All fear the disastrous effects of a "rate war," and competition is mutually refrained from in prices of transportation. It still continues in quality of service, and most important of all in conspicuousness through advertising. It is sought by the power of suggestion to influence choice. Friction again, this time in the form of a lack of real knowledge on the part of at least a portion of the traveling

public and perhaps also a love for variety, prevents this competition from working out its logical result,— complete victory on the part of one road with empty trains on all others. With so much friction it takes time to undermine a competitor completely, but the logical outcome of all forms of industry depending on fixed capital is monopoly.

The labourer standing before his prospective employer presents another case of fixed capital. In this case the mature man himself is the embodiment of capital, largely fixed. In general he is good for but one thing, work. He cannot be reconverted into the raw material of which he is economically composed. He is not transformable into a salable or consumable product of any variety desired. Even his capacity as to kind of labour can be but slightly altered, the less so the more specialisation has proceeded. His labour power must be utilised in a single definite way if at all. If the demand for that particular kind of labour power is limited, by lack of raw material or circulating capital, or even as is usually the case, by reason of lack of initiative on the part of those who control capital, or if his labour power cannot be made to render a satisfactory profit to the capitalist,— we have another instance of competition among the forms of fixed capital, and one in which the investment is pe-

cularly helpless before the competitive lowering of prices.

Two labourers apply for the same job. Each must have money as the means of sustenance. What limits underbidding? Each reflects that less money is preferable to none. Nowhere except at the point where one is forced to commit economic suicide, in desperation deciding that there is practically no difference between the wage offered and nothing at all, does the underbidding cease. Economic friction alone in the majority of cases saves the labourer from this plight. He gambles from imperfect knowledge that he may be offered a better paying position to-morrow. Or perhaps custom is strong upon him and he is unable to see the propriety of underbidding the usual wage. Unorganised class feeling analogous to the gentleman's agreement of the trust, or the professional sense of the doctor, may deter him from underbidding. Again he may not from lack of knowledge be even present to underbid the other man.

In both these cases of fixed capital, that of the stocked industry and that of the fully reared and trained labourer, the struggle is ended by the industrial combination and the trade union respectively, and the competition between forms of fixed capital ceases. These organisations are a necessity in order that the naturally evolving

monopoly may not be altogether despotic. It is a law of nature that in the absence of organisation subjugation by the strongest shall prevail. Ultimately under natural conditions the will of the strongest thus rules. The conflicts which remain are only those of the representative faculty of *his* mind, and the result is known as tyranny. If this should be fully evolved before the advent of socialism we should have in place of our industrial feudalism an industrial monarchy.

Organised government has refused to recognise the essentially social nature of modern industrial affairs. Hence it has made no attempt to control them directly. In fact, government as its name implies has concerned itself almost exclusively with people. Rarely has it condescended to undertake the most necessary management of things. In this it betrays its origin as of the order of slavery. Perfect freedom, perhaps for long yet unattainable, brooks only the latter. In any case industrial affairs have long cried loudly for social regulation and in response for that species of industrial government which properly belongs only to the state, have arisen the trust and the labour union. Each in its present state is illogical as an incomplete and unrelated institution. Each antagonises the other, attempting to rule in practically the same

sphere, and both come into frequent conflict with the general government. This conflict is particularly natural and universal between the labour union and the trust: so much so that inasmuch as the former is considerably identical in membership with the larger exploited class and is democratically organised, the conflict between these two is often confused with the class conflict of socialism.

It is to be noted that these organisations thus perform a real service to the public. Government is normally profitable. In the Middle Ages the barons performed a real service in restoring and maintaining order in their limited provinces. For this service they recouped themselves by securing the feudal allegiance from their subjects and serfs. The gratitude of even the latter was not altogether mistaken. Men are usually willing to be restrained for the common good and even to pay for the restraint.

A similar condition has arisen recently in our own land so far as industry is concerned. Out of the saving resulting from the abolition of the destructive and costly competition of the pre-trust days, the trusts have earned and have been able to collect a vast recompense for their services. This has been partially aside from any mulcting of the consumer or the real producer. That they have not hesitated to do this also

whenever opportunity afforded may be freely admitted. It is but a consequence to be reasonably expected of any and every sort of irresponsible government.

But the trust has arisen in response to the business man's immediate perception of the advantages of socialism. The trust is the only form of socialism that can prevail in a thoroughly anarchistic industrial society, for the labour unions are unable, at least thus far, to command sufficient power to serve other than as a mere party of opposition. The trust is a strictly limited socialism, a sort of feudal socialism, autocratically administered and otherwise imperfect because unstable as to its working force and hence disregarding of their welfare. With a wise far-seeing capitalist at its head, no remaining competition to restrict its benevolent policies, and a stable working force, it is the most tolerable form of private capitalism. It of course sets the prices of its products at what the market will bear and so limits its benefits to its own employees — and owners.

If complete trustification of all our industries were at once effected, we should have a form of society which might (or may) endure for a considerable time, and quite analogous to the institution of monarchy in the political realm. It would be subject however to the constant en-

croachments of capitalists from other lines of business, after the manner of wars of territorial conquest among nations. That such a state of affairs will long be tolerated by our workers is unthinkable. It seems more likely that the demand for democratic management of the trusts will be rather prompt. Democracy has had a taste of power in the political field, and while this has mainly taken the form of a preference between rulers, it is increasingly reaching out for a control of measures,—including those of an industrial nature. Even if each trust were controlled by its workers democratically organised after the pattern (and purpose) of the industrial unions, the resulting socialism would still be too partial, too local, and too mutually warring and competitive to be a permanent form of organisation, though such organisation might well serve as the local unit of the coöperative commonwealth.

Capitalism is thus developing forms of organisation which will inevitably call more and more insistently for "industrial democracy." The power of the captains of industry is becoming so conspicuous and this power is questioned so bitterly by the unions of the workers that we cannot believe that the latter will much longer delay to avail themselves of the weapons conferred upon them by political democracy. This need

imply no revolutionary movement except in so far as any overturn of long accepted governmental policies is revolutionary. Unlike most European countries we have the means of industrial revolution ready to hand in our rather complete political democracy.

But it must be revolutionary in the sense that it substitutes the collective will in industry for the individual will. Industrial management must be social rather than individual. In place of many unrelated business agencies must be the one well-organised democratically controlled co-operative commonwealth. Failing this we shall have a more or less limited industrial monarchy. For disorder such as now prevails in things industrial can be put the temporary manifestation of industrial immaturity.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL CONTROL, MEANS

HAVING thus reviewed the forces spiritual and material which are arousing the selfconsciousness of society and spurring it on to purposeful adaptive activity, we have further to inquire concerning the probable direction of the progress of such a society and the means by which social control will be exercised. What will be the purposes of the selfconscious society? We may say in general that they will be those analogous to the purposes of the individual who is endowed with selfconsciousness. In general terms we are accustomed to say that "he realises his mission." All his acts, before performed instinctively and automatically, are now reinforced and given a finer direction by the consciousness of ideal ends and the conscious adoption of appropriate means and methods. He has attained the age of responsibility. He has a knowledge of good and evil. His acts are henceforth characteristic of his personality. He is an original source of purposive creation.

The evolution of social selfconsciousness as-

sumes a like progress. Society sets out to achieve its mission. Society has indeed adopted methods heretofore, but has done so only under the pressure of necessity, and they have been merely such as answered to the exigencies of the moment. While individual statesmen have advocated schemes for the promotion of national welfare, breeding and training citizenship, the citizens themselves have submitted to such plans, or resisted them, without any clear knowledge as to their purpose or their own intentions in regard to them. Nor have the methods themselves been clear. They have ever been in the nature of compromises. The mere adoption of socialism on the other hand involves the voluntary acceptance of a whole series of socially perceived methods,—of conscious adaptation.

Moreover, this conscious adaptation implies, even necessitates, the employment of a certain sort of means—means other than a blind reliance on the working out of unknown natural laws—means that shall allow of the direct expression of conscious purpose and plan. Such means will differ from those now unconsciously employed chiefly by the advance from the unheeding reliance upon natural processes to the intelligent mastery and utilisation of those forces which have hitherto borne unseeing rule. The means employed will not necessarily displace en-

tirely those naturally in force, but will be adopted in each instance after due consideration of the improvement possible. In those cases where the means naturally in force are retained the government must criticise each application of them and stand by to control or limit their action. In so far as man's plans are fully worked out, they will fully displace the control of nature so far as such a change can be effected.

But more than all else he will adopt definite guiding principles in response to the appeal of ideals, in place of the aimlessness of the mere instinctive desire to live which has characterised his socially subconscious period. His ideals for the just society will seek not altogether unavailingly for concrete expression. So much of Utopia as the state of advancement of human capacity will permit will be realised. Ideals which have hitherto served as guides to individual action for generations are thus in a position to be somewhat tardily adopted with reference to society.

There is absolutely no deterrent and every inducement to the citizens of the socialist commonwealth to devise such a system of production and distribution as shall be thus truly ideal in its educational effects. More or less obscured, but pervading every socialist manifesto and platform, is the declaration of the purpose to utilise every

available means to evolve a higher type of man than has yet existed, and to educate every individual man to the highest state of which he is capable. To say that a democratically organised community could fail in this regard is to deny the success and wisdom of the principle of democracy itself.

Man will thus become surrounded with a purposeful environment. This calculated purposeful environment supersedes the compelling forceful environment of nature which has hitherto enslaved submissive mankind. Man has not hitherto been free even to that extent which is attainable by concerted social action. But self-conscious society is able to attain a sort of social personality, through a public spirit which can even now be discerned as characteristic of the best communities. As the individual has been able to improve his condition through voluntary choice, so society within practicable limits establishes a voluntary social environment, and the social structure begins to bear the imprint of conscious social devisings. As the individual becomes in a measure self sufficient and self surrounded, so does society achieve a like triumph of inner personality.

Thus socialism is the reaction of society upon its own institutions. The institutions mould society and society proceeds to remake the institu-

tions. Institutions have hitherto been a growth undirected except by the logic of events, the same that will still intrude into the beginnings of socialism; but when socialism shall have become fully developed, the institutional life of society will have become fully directed. In a certain sense all constructive statesmanship is thus directive. We must merely note that the directive agents are hitherto pursuing purely personal and narrow ends or at most that they do not represent society in any adequate sense. Society is not directing itself. It is perhaps being directed consciously, but not with any *generally* conceived conscious purpose. Its directors are themselves chosen by chance, or at most by a system which has in it a large element of chance as has been shown, and their control where real is at best a most indirect and inaccurate expression of popular will.

The socialist state will be a coöperative commonwealth, embodying the collective sense and power of its citizens directed toward their emancipation from the thralldom to the industrial tyranny of which we have seen the rationale. For along with the change in the control of industry goes a change in the motives of those who are in control. This has often been stated by socialists as "production for use, not for profit." It is more than this; *it is production for the pro-*

ducer, not for the product. In other words, the incentive to those who are in control of industry to so direct the work that the output will be enhanced at the expense of the worker, will be eliminated. The extraordinary result of this change of emphasis is that for the first time the worker will become of primary significance,—the effect of industry on him takes precedence over any consideration of quantity or quality of product.

Even here the enhancement of the educational content of the socialist movement is not fully seen. Its full influence is not entirely measured by this fundamental change in the nature of the occupation of each citizen. For not only is the production of wealth under the control of the workers under socialism, but its disposition also is in their hands. And from this united control of production and distribution arises a vast opportunity to create a set of conditions which shall vitally react on the character and conduct of man. It has often been charged by critics, within as well as without the socialist movement, that socialism will require a changed human nature. It seems fairly probable that the converse will prove true. Socialism will change human nature,—at least so far as a different and calculated environment can accomplish that desirable effect. For its fundamental characteris-

tic, as we have seen, is to surround humanity with a set of artificial conditions replacing those of an unreasoned naturally evolved civilisation, much as the planned and chosen influences of the school replace the lawless but highly natural environment of the street or forest playground. We may look for the setting up by socialism of an artificially created environment, designed so far as the wisdom and accomplishments of society shall dictate, to consist of just those conditions which will allow the individual to enjoy life, and to work out the perfect development of his own individuality.

All these influences thus calculated to effect a desirable change in human nature, or rather in its manifestations, may be grouped together and rightly denominated educational influences. For the essential procedure in every attempt to educate consists in bringing to bear on the individual the influences of an environment artificially fashioned, in which it is hoped that the desired development will work out. Socialism proposes to do this in the large, not merely with children in the calculated environment of the school, but with all persons in the quite as well calculated environment of the socialist state. *Socialism is the apotheosis of public education.*

Thus we see that the socialist society would be adjusted as a setting or background for a more

profound individualism than can possibly exist without this socialism, its complement. Not individualism in the whole sphere of human affairs, irrespective of their nature; but individualism in matters of purely personal concern, socialism in those of social concern. There is no antagonism, simply a correlation. Taken in their broadest meaning there are two factors in human affairs not thus purely individual, and hence falling properly within the sphere of socialist management. These are education and evolution. While education is not as fundamental as human evolution, or eugenics, it is no less a necessary element in the ideal civilisation, for no matter how much the race were improved, if the individual were not treated as an end in himself no real benefit to humanity could be felt. We may consider education first then somewhat more in detail, as the better perceived and more commonly sought for object of socialism.

Education may be more narrowly defined from the sociological point of view as the development of the individual by means of exercises and influences devised to effect that result. We should note that this development requires the coöperation of factors outside the individual's own self-activity. Education may indeed be due to the existence of conditions planned previously by the individual himself to constitute such factors, but

in the majority of instances it will as a matter of fact result from those planned and regulated by another and presumably wiser agency. In any case education from the point of view of the sociologist is due to environment rather than to self-activity, for the latter is a constant factor or at least is not subject to external influences, such as are invariably implied in every attempt to provide educational opportunities.

In primitive times we may presume that all education was accidental, due to the influence of adventitious surroundings. It was *natural* education as distinguished from consciously planned education, or education proper. It was thus due solely to *natural* environment. This environment we should note consists of all those circumstances both material and spiritual with which the individual happens to be surrounded as a result of the social structure prevailing at the time. Socialism as we have seen proposes to organise and adapt this environment in order to be assured that it shall be in accordance with the needs of the expanding ego of each individual. Otherwise it can have but an accidental relation to his needs, and may or may not correspond to them, the chances being practically infinite that it will not.

But not only in the remote past but in much more recent times do we find that each individual

is born into a natural environment which has not to any measurable degree been prepared for his reception. It is still largely a random education that he receives, but it has never at any time been altogether so. For a mother has always in a measure anticipated the needs of every human infant, and thus somewhat rectified the unprovidential neglect of nature. But the mother's powers in this direction even when supplemented by the efforts of the father are sadly limited in their scope, being able to furnish educational opportunities of only the most immediately practical kind, and merely such as will suffice to allow the development of the naturally dominant instincts. Unforeseeing nature still enters as the main agent of education, training the savage throughout his short but eventful life, and usually discarding him at an early stage in his potential career in favour of his successor.

Even in modern so-called civilised society nature still provides the great mass of educative situations, and hence education is still in a haphazard condition. For we may easily perceive that the exercises provided by the demands of modern industry are not infrequently exactly opposed to the educational requirements of the worker, and indeed that they are often even less well adapted to his needs than were those of more primitive times. On the contrary the hab-

its induced by the vocation of the modern artisan, for instance, are such as to make him become conservative but unprogressive in his manner of thought and action. At least when compared with the initiative and rapid decision required in the earlier times of warfare and adventure, his life is quite tame — and quite taming in its effects upon his character.

In the later days when commerce absorbed the chief attention of the newly developed merchant class, a wholly different emphasis was placed upon the qualities called into play as a result of the substitution of competition for warfare. The practice of deceit, for example, is now tempered with that measure of honesty which is the best policy. Still it is the continued exercise of various forms of deceit which give rise to the business maxim of *caveat emptor*. When specialised industry itself arises and the industrial revolution has given birth to the modern industrial state, still other qualities almost innumerable in number and infinite in variety are demanded, but only as required for the needs of industry rather than for the needs of man. Throughout all these phases of natural education may be noted the one ever present defect, that each character testing influence or "temptation" is purely accidental and its educational effect therefore fortuitous.

But it may be suggested that this fortuitous

influence is on the whole as good as any that could possibly be devised by the calculations of those who would establish the ideal environment. If this be indeed so then the proper course for a civilised community is to revert back entirely to purely natural conditions. Education would then be most effective if we should close our schools, repeal our laws against moral nuisances, and even do away with government altogether as an artificial hindrance to the perfect working of a purely natural environment. On the contrary, the effort of all civilised communities is to multiply such artificial agencies and institutions, and even to bring the operations of industry, commerce, etc., more and more under the sway of the government, thus achieving in a measure the educational advantages of socialism through indirect and awkward means. The educational aim of socialism is merely to hasten this assumption of social control of environment through the adoption of direct and efficient means.

Under socialism then the control of environment becomes one of the two general means of the direction of the further progress of civilisation. The social ownership and operation of the means of production for the equitable good of all thus furnishes the basis for a general application of the dictates of educational policy to all the

situations arising in productive industry. It is true that production requires labour, but it may be denied that this labour is necessarily stunting or degrading and hence uneducative. On the contrary it involves the employment of bodies and brains for just such productive effort as the similar necessity of production of past ages has evolved them to perform. The amount of labour necessary to maintain all in the state of highest happiness and efficiency is probably far below that amount which if equitably distributed would be felt by any as a burden. In fact, the civilised world has probably achieved the means of liberation from a pain economy and is doubtless quite able if so disposed to put into operation at once the pleasure economy which is destined ultimately to displace it.

We must not make the very common mistake of supposing that it is merely the material environment which would thus be under the control of the socialist state. The spiritual environment could not fail to reflect this change in material affairs. It is unthinkable that the establishment of production for use in place of production for profit should not make entirely new and quite preferable demands upon the moral qualities of the producer. The injunction, "Lead us not into temptation," seems likely of fulfilment when the socialist society arrives to adjust the

requirements of the material environment to the moral needs of the individual.

Moreover, it is not alone through the agency of a changed material environment that spiritual influences will be adjusted to the needs of the individual. As we shall see, the method of socialism is such that emphasis is constantly being placed on the appeal to those faculties that are concerned with the coöperative and hence essentially altruistic life, rather than as at present upon those egoistic faculties that are chiefly called into play in the competitive life. For since competition is to be replaced by decision as the method of determining the conduct of society, the very method of appeal cannot but give rise to continual "campaigns of education."

In these verbal contests which thus replace both warfare and competition and which lead to the adoption of those ideas which are recognised by society as the best, it can readily be seen that it is the voice of the scholar that will be heard furthest and oftenest. This is far from being the case at present, for on account of the fact that the results of scholarly speculation are usually under present conditions, of more theoretical than practical value, the philosopher has seldom received sufficient reward to furnish him the opportunity to pursue his researches and speculations to their proper conclusion, or even

to publish adequately those results of importance which he is able to reach. Thus the organisation and interpretation of knowledge lags, and worse yet the thinker is discouraged, being denied the mere opportunity of thinking for its own sake. His pride of intellect is consequently weakened and he remains a prey to superstition along with his less enlightened fellows. Mankind has not received enlightenment on many subjects for the simple reason that no business interest has considered it sufficiently profitable to provide for his liberal education, even when such enlightenment is not actually opposed by them in the name of theology. There is danger that even the public schools and the colleges will here and there be taught to maintain a discreet silence on scientific conclusions of the utmost importance, at the behest of the representatives of a very real materialism.

Moreover the scholar's pride in the excellence and standing of his intellectual achievement must now be maintained in the face of a pride of material wealth from which he must realise that he is forever cut off. And while he may decry the pride of material wealth, he cannot but acknowledge its superior advantages for the acquisition of culture and refinement: in short for the furthering of those very forms of self-development which he alone can best appreciate.

Furthermore, he cannot but regard with concern the extent of the power of leadership which wealth now confers, and the feebleness of his own attempts in comparison.

The deadening influence of the eternal question of a purely commercialised civilisation, "Will it pay?" is felt by every scientist and philosopher throughout the length and breadth of the land. Socialism would free the investigator and the scholar from this humiliation and set him in the front rank of leadership. It would enable him to associate with his fellows in semi-public bureaus of research and speculation, to his own great delight and the profit of society. Class work in school is a feeble example of the educational effects of associated study. Better instances are the schools of literature springing up about various centres, such as that of the Lake District of England or that in the neighbourhood of Boston a century ago. What this associated activity in intellectual pursuits might become among a whole people unhampered by pressing material necessities can only be fully guessed when we come to consider how this natural tendency to intellectual rivalry will be reinforced by the method of socialism. As we shall see, this method — the method by which control will be exercised — will be

wholly favourable to the influence, and encouraging to the efforts of the scholar.

Moreover under socialism much of the motive now urging to the anti-social modes of conduct would be eliminated. The altruistic spirit would undoubtedly be rapidly acquired by man were it not for the egoistic forces of economic competition forever assailing him. Hence socialism has but to remove the adverse influences which have been accumulating under the present system to allow for a great expansion in the growth of altruism. So far is socialism from requiring a changed human nature that it is probably the only scientific attempt to utilise human nature as it is. And it would be more proper to say that socialism will change human nature, at least so far as an entire change in the motives governing the commercial relations of men could effect that desirable result. Under the present system progress in this direction has been squarely opposed by all the influences that an unrestricted appeal to individual selfishness can bring to bear. Our present science of economics is entirely justified in attributing none but consistently selfish motives to the "economic man" in his business relations. The statement that the socialist state is materialistic as compared with the present state in this sense is impossibly ab-

surd. That it will afford a better opportunity for the advance in all forms of mental culture, including the development of personal integrity, follows from the fact that it affords the average individual the opportunity to adjust industry to his own needs. The advocates of the interests of educational policy could not ask for more in the conduct of industry.

This becomes only the more increasingly evident as we consider the possibilities open to the socialist state in the distribution of the product. This can be set down as nothing less than the ultimate educational ideal, "to each according to his needs." This ideal is even now increasingly realised in the so-called socialistic activities of the modern state. For each extension of "state welfare work" such as the establishment and maintenance of public schools, parks, free hospitals, etc., is but the progressive application of the principle which lies at the very core of all educational endeavour.

Then with the public schools free to direct their aim toward teaching how to live rather than toward how to get a living, as so invariably to-day, the increase in real education as distinguished from mere training can not fail to produce what must needs appear to be indeed a changed human nature. When we contemplate the narrowness of previous aims of the school,

as for instance the demand in early colonial times that the child be taught reading in order that he might be able to read the Bible, or as in more modern times that he be taught languages in order that he may display a learning which will serve as a mark of class distinction, we are led to anticipate a very considerable increase in the efficiency of school education alone.

In short, socialism means the emancipation of education from the requirements of a competitive civilisation. Education, the conscious attempt to improve the individual, becomes free to respond to the dictates of the ideals achieved through the selfconsciousness of the race. This highly satisfactory consummation can be realised only through socialism, for competitive industry requires the subordination of the learner to the task, of the school to the factory, of the nation to the greed of gain. The practical demands of competitive industry can never be reconciled with the actual needs of each developing individual. In so far as such needs were perceived by the citizenship of the coöperative commonwealth, they could not fail to receive every bit of consideration that would be allowed by the conditions of industrial progress. They would constitute a first mortgage upon the surplus value of the production of society.

But more fundamental than education, which

we have thus seen can be satisfied only under socialism, and more far reaching because of permanent causal relation to all ages, is the question of evolution. How would evolution fare under socialism? Would socialism result as has been claimed in a universal panmixia? The very first discovery in regard to evolution considered from the sociological point of view is portentous. It is that evolution is not an individual but a social concern.

The individual's part in the affairs of this world is but brief and transitory in comparison with the time required for evolutionary processes to work out. The individual as such cannot possibly have the keen positive interest in evolution that he is likely to have in education, owing to the comparatively short length of time required for the fruition of the benefits of the latter. On the other hand, evolution is the more fundamental and necessary to the welfare of society. It furnishes the very basis of society, the raw material out of which education fashions the citizen of the civilised state. A splendid race of men could be brought into being through its operations alone, though not of course a splendid civilisation, for the latter is the result of the coöperation of evolution and education, aided it may be by the voluntary efforts of exceptionally inspired individuals.

But evolution takes time, much time. It is the one human concern of importance which is not of concern to any individual man, except as he identifies himself with the race of which he is a member. Individual initiative in race improvement, or eugenics, is ridiculous; it has even proved insufficient in education.

But it may be objected that the individual does indeed care about his own immediate descendants, and so individually provides for the future excellence of the race. On the contrary it is doubtful if consideration for the future good of society has ever caused a single child more or less to be born. At any rate one cannot discover on looking about that pride of family has any appreciable influence on the number of offspring. Other considerations prevail than this of so primary importance to the race. If there is one duty to society of which the average citizen is totally regardless it is this.

This must necessarily remain true so long as society takes no active steps to protect her own interests. Under the competitive system it is rather to the interest of the individual and his own immediate descendants that the remainder of the future society should not be too efficient, or in other words too well born. It is the individual against the field. His chances are somewhat better if the field is not too fast. Hence

if the parent reasons at all, his reflections will not lead him to the proper conduct for race improvement. Here the principle that individual selfish action results in the general welfare — that the individual in benefiting himself benefits society — breaks down altogether. For the individual cannot if he would improve the quality of his offspring in the slightest degree; and to increase their quantity merely decreases the opportunities of each. What he can do he has no motive to do: what he cannot do he might have a motive to do. The race cannot look for improvement on the basis of selfish individual exertions.

Natural selection alone is responsible for all former progress in race improvement. But as we have seen, the rise of humanitarianism has operated to reduce and all but nullify this natural elimination of the unfit. It requires no proof to demonstrate that the peoples of all civilised countries are being chiefly recruited from those commonly taken to be the unfit. Civilisation is indeed "a diseased condition of society" from this point of view. Says Saleeby in *Parent-hood and Race Culture*, "We civilised men . . . do our utmost to check the progress of elimination: we build asylums for the imbecile, and the maim and the sick: we institute poor laws: and our medical men exert their utmost skill to save the life of everyone to the last moment. . . .

Thus the weak members of civilised society propagate their kind." ¹² We may even point out in confirmation of this indictment, that every civilisation thus far accomplished has perished through internal weakness, undoubtedly due in large measure to racial deterioration.

Having gone so far as to provide for the survival of the unfit, society must take the further step of "the social control of human evolution." To do less is to be subject to certain disaster as a race. For it is not only that our own particular conditions thus negatively allow degeneration, they even encourage it in a positive way. Says Saleeby again, "Finally there occurs the phenomenon of reversed selection, when it is fitter to be bad than good, cowardly than brave,—when healthy children are killed in factories whilst feeble-minded children or deaf-mutes are carefully tended until maturity and then sent into the world to reproduce their maladies." ¹³ This is the most severe indictment that could conceivably be brought against any social system from the standpoint of evolutionary science. That its truth and applicability to our own is constantly becoming greater with every advance in modern scientific methods must be apparent to every observer.

Regarding the seriousness of the charge we can

¹² p. 171.

¹³ p. 264.

only quote further from Saleeby: "If society be so organised that there are factors of more survival value than the disinterested search for truth, or mother love, or the power to create great poetry or music — then, according to the inevitable and universal law of the survival of the fittest, our parasites will oust our poets, and our poisoners our philosophers. There are those who live in society today and reproduce their like by virtue of their tenacious hooks and voracious stomachs." ¹⁴ "The business of eugenics or race culture is to create an environment such that the human characters of which the human spirit approves shall in it outweigh those of which we disapprove." ¹⁵ Here we have the manifest duty of society stated in unmistakable terms from the standpoint of the eugenicist. For it surely cannot be claimed that the environment is to any extent worth mentioning within the control of the individual, while as we have seen at length it is to a very considerable extent within the control of society.

In one respect only could it be hoped that the selfish impulses of the individual would work for the improvement of the race. It is possible that sexual selection by choosing the best as mates might result in the improvement of parenthood. But here too the present system is as

¹⁴ p. 47.

¹⁵ p. 52.

usual on the wrong side. Marriage has been made into an economic bargain. Of the effect on the welfare of the race we need hardly inquire. Wallace believes that only through socialism can we achieve "that perfect freedom of choice in marriage which will only be possible when all are economically equal, and no question of social rank or material advantage can have the slightest influence in determining that choice."¹⁶ And Saleeby adds, "Again I say, if socialism, or the abolition of (*un-natural*) inheritance, be necessary in order that selection for marriage shall be determined by the possession of personal qualities of racial value greater than the power of purse, which has always been a racial curse, then the sooner socialism is established the better."¹⁷

By what means then shall the edicts of eugenics be put into force? It is difficult to see how society can exert any influence whatever, other than to disseminate information, unless it is in control of the economic situation: but this again is socialism. It is incompatible with the very first principle of personal liberty to make laws governing the action of individuals in this matter. A little might be accomplished by negative laws, which are not so objectionable in this

¹⁶ *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1908.

¹⁷ p. 198.

connection as positive mandates, but these would prove difficult to enforce and of small utility at best. The anti-socialist is here utterly powerless and impotent.

It cannot be denied indeed that any society, calculating or otherwise, has an influence in this respect. Our present society is, as we have seen, exercising a most potent influence—in the wrong direction. The question is whether this “reversed selection” shall be remedied by a return to nature’s method, “natural selection,” or whether the time has come for man to assert his mastery over the future of humanity. Says Galton on this point in *Sociological Papers*, 1905, “Purely passive, or what may be styled mechanical evolution, . . . is moulded by blind and wasteful processes, namely, by an extravagant production of raw material and the ruthless rejection of all that is superfluous, through the blundering steps of trial and error. . . . Evolution is in any case a grand phantasmagoria, but it assumes an infinitely more interesting aspect under the knowledge that the human will is, in some small measure, capable of directing its course. Man has the power of doing this largely so far as the evolution of humanity is concerned.”¹⁸ Says Lancaster,—“Man is . . . a product of the definite and orderly evolution

¹⁸ p. 52.

which is universal, a being resulting from and driven by the one great nexus of mechanism which we call Nature. He stands alone, face to face with that relentless mechanism. It is his destiny to understand and control it.”¹⁹ Saleeby adds, “It is our destiny to command the end while humanising the means.”²⁰ “Nature can preserve a race only by destroying the unfit. We who are intelligent must preserve and elevate the race by preventing the unfit from ever coming into existence at all. We must replace nature’s selective death rate by a selective birth rate. This is merciful and supremely moral: it means vast economy in life and money and time and suffering: it is natural at bottom, but it is Nature raised to her highest power in that almost supra-natural fact—the moral intelligence of man.”²¹ As we shall see under the method of socialism this is the exact object of socialism from the eugenicist’s point of view.

But society must in some manner exercise this power, this time not over insensate material, but over the very living elements of which it is itself composed. This particular control, moreover, is one over functions hitherto of all others deemed most private and individual. Who shall beget descendants and how many?—this has been

¹⁹ *Romanes Lecture, 1905.* ²¹ p. 24.

²⁰ p. 41.

held to be a matter of strictly private concern. On the contrary it is the one individual activity which means most for society, particularly for the society of the future. And moreover the children are not merely wards of the parents: in a larger sense they belong to society, to which they may appeal for upbringing in case of the default of their parents.

Looked at from the standpoint of biological evolution their deserts are seen to be quite distinct from the ability or inclination of their parents to provide for them. They are related not to the actual position and power of their parents, but to that potential position and power which with other and more favourable circumstances their parents might have realised. And not simply to this either, for the latest word of Mendalian genetics is to the effect that those parents possessed the power of transmitting qualities which they themselves could never realise in their own persons. Hence the need of breaking up this chain of fortuitous inheritances at the point of beginning of each successive generation.

Society is responsible to each child that it may receive a "square deal." The child is innocent of the overt sins of its parents, even if endowed to some extent with their hereditary qualities. But so much of accident has entered into their lives

that the child should, as another individual, be so far as possible freed from the chain of consequences of their choices, good or bad. And this again can only be undertaken by society on condition that the would be parents receive the sanction of society. The state cannot assume responsibility for that over which it has no control, though it could to be sure accomplish something with a given product.

The only efficient medium for such control is that state which controls environment. Hence it is not the interests of education alone that are conserved by socialism, but equally those of eugenics. For the socialist state exercising complete control over industry, is in a peculiarly favourable position to reward parenthood, particularly motherhood, in every way. Thus compensation of mothers could be continued during the months of disability; or on the other hand such payment could be withheld if it were desired that such parenthood should be discouraged. By no other agency than the industrial state could society bring to bear such potent influences without unduly infringing upon individual and personal prerogatives.

But at present it is largely from lack of knowledge that the practices of eugenics are hampered. And while this deficiency of scientific information would in any case prohibit the im-

mediate inaugurating of eugenic statecraft, this very lack is again due to too great reliance upon individual initiative. Scientific investigation in the field of eugenics does not pay,—that is, it does not pay any individual or small group of individuals to investigate the facts and deduce the proper procedure. Hence the impetus to research that may be expected as a consequence of the inauguration of the socialist régime will be of even more marked importance as applied to evolution than as applied to education, for in the latter field it is already felt to pay. The gathering and disseminating of information being already a recognised function of the state, we shall have under socialism both the knowledge and the means of putting it into effect.

We may here note that there is but a limited field for the *direct* control over evolution, and that most of this being negative it could be put into operation even under our present system of society. Indeed such legal measures as will prevent the multiplication of strains of known unfitness, we may shortly expect. Even our limited social consciousness is sufficient to motive such a measure, for there is none to profit by opposition. And as direct positive measures are impossible now, so they will doubtless continue under the socialist régime, until it is finally merged into the fully free philosophical an-

archistic society in which they would be superfluous. We may safely predict that eugenic measures will never come within the pale of the law as positive mandates. None will be prosecuted as criminal for failure of parenthood.

But as we have seen there is left to the socialist society the method of indirect influence through the control of the economic situation. Even here control must be by classes, not by individuals. Certain traits must be denominated desirable by society and these must be encouraged by economic rewards, leaving individuals to adjust their own private actions to these conditions. Says Saleeby, "Thus positive eugenics must take the form, at present, of removing such disabilities as now weigh upon the desirable members of the community, especially of the more prudent sort."²² For instance if we should assume that the scholarly temper is a hereditary trait, we cannot say to its possessors, — Mate, and be fruitful,— but we must instead provide suitable economic encouragement for such people to assume the responsibilities of parenthood. That such conditions would be effective in producing the desired results is not entirely certain, but we must believe that they would be far more effective than the mere giving of information alone, which is all that could

²² p. 200.

be undertaken under any other system than that of socialism.

But positive as well as negative influences may be expected to result from extra-legal measures in the socialist society. In a community where patriotism stands for the enforcement of those principles for which the state exists, as well as for the mere continued existence of the state, we may expect that the parenthood, and so the biological survival, of the best will become as much a recognised duty as any other individual responsibility to society. Customs and conventions may well be expected to reflect this obligation with overwhelming power against which no individual will be able to stand.

Thus we have seen that socialism "seeks to direct the further progress of civilisation by means of the social control of heredity and environment." It would not do to trust to either factor alone, for each is subject to the law of diminishing returns. Together they cover all that it is in man's power to effect socially. It may be freely admitted that there is doubtless an individual factor of the highest importance not herein embraced,—that of individual will, which also contributes to the direction of the future progress of civilisation directly, as well as through the intervention of the state. Socialism should coöperate with this factor, which may

be known as that of individualism. There is nothing incompatible with such coöperation in the principles of socialism. And in recognising the two factors of socialism there is laid a splendid foundation for the exercise of this third factor, which has hitherto monopolised attention. For socialism does not in the least fail to recognise this factor of individual will; but, not content with sowing the seed of racial superiority, the socialist community will attempt to gather the harvest in the development of this racial ability through the education of each individual and his consequent reaction upon the society which has thus allowed for his self-fulfilment. Is it possible that this developed individual should not prove a new point of departure for a further development of civilisation? If the power of individual will is indeed an originating cause, it will be entirely free to act effectively in that society which is thoroughly organised, informed with socially perceived ideals, and governed democratically through intelligent decision. The socialist society is but supplying the machine or instrument with which the individualist master may make his personality felt in the further progress of civilisation. Socialism promises to make the two factors efficient and so to allow scope for the third. The individual can ask nothing further from society.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL CONTROL, METHOD

WE now come to that aspect of the socialist proposal that most departs from established procedure. This is in reference to the method of determining which of two or more alternative plans or persons is to prevail. It is obvious that the most direct and simple method of such determination is that of combat or warfare. This is the primitive method of settling disputes or controversies. Its tendency under primitive conditions is on the whole to select the fittest. For of the combatants or groups of combatants the one which is superior in prowess, including the considerable advantage of possessing the best laid plans, is likely, barring accidents, to turn out victorious.

Since in the long run this is the aggregate result it might on first consideration seem that it were well to let nature continue in this, her first method of selection. Unfortunately for the untroubled peace of mind of man, the outcome of warfare does not always coincide with his own ideals. Hence he is tempted to try to improve

upon this method. Says Geddes, speaking of the social demands of science, "The government of the future—as yet only ideal, . . . believes that there are ideals and that they may be worth acting upon."²³ Warfare is incompetent to evolve the type idealised by man or to develop in the individual man those characteristics demanded for the highest civilisation.

But this first method of nature, direct warfare, is unsatisfactory even as the agent of "natural selection." To say nothing of the immense drain of warfare on human happiness and upon wealth, it does not even accomplish its purpose of selecting the fittest with entire efficiency. For the survival of the individual is dependent upon accidental conditions quite as frequently as upon merit, and even in case of survival the victor is often crippled and so doomed to fall in the next conflict. Besides there is not only the question of which individual shall survive but what policy. Warfare is a most awkward means of settling the latter question.

For several reasons warfare has been discarded among civilised peoples so far as settling disputes regarding personal matters is concerned. In this sphere it survived long as combat and still lingers in the form of the duel. But it is so

²³ Quoted by Saleeby in *Parenthood and Race Culture*, p. 122.

manifestly unfair between the mature and the immature as to be early regarded as dishonourable for the former. In the next place quantity was seen to prevail at the expense of quality. Sheer weight of numbers crush the braver and more deserving few. It was at first attempted to obviate these disparities by regulations, as in the tourney and the duel. For a time this was considered a satisfactory solution of the matter. But better civilisation sees the necessity for doing away with it altogether, if not in the interests of the individuals, who are overthrown justly or unjustly, then certainly in the interests of the group, which is desirous that the better man and the better plan should prevail.

Thus it has been displaced in its crudest and cruelest form by the prohibition of the government upon private aggression and vengeance. In other words the government as a harmonising force took upon itself to decide the proper outcome of such conflicts. At first the ruler saw to it that brawls did not occur, and settled disputes himself. Later he was forced to abandon this power or voluntarily relinquished it to be settled by competition as a form of indirect warfare. This was done largely because there was at that time no government possessing the confidence of the people, as is evinced by the saying

widely current that the best government is that which governs least.

In general therefore, from whatever cause, warfare has been replaced by competition. Instead of trying conclusions directly with his antagonist, each seeks to become possessed of the other's means of livelihood or supremacy. It often becomes a struggle to the death for the possession of some one common object or advantage. All is not fair in this conflict as in warfare, for the governing power prescribes the rules and limits of the struggle. It is a supervised contest, in which direct aggressive tactics are barred, though it tends to degenerate into simple warfare. From the rivalry between Cain and Abel down to the latest strike, the loser shows a disposition to disregard morality and adopt "direct action." The winning party is not so strongly tempted to employ these measures and consequently deprecates violence.

That there is bound to be such reversion to the earlier warfare wherever there is competition ought to be apparent on the slightest consideration, and that this warfare tends to the commission of unlawful acts is equally obvious. Hence it is no permanent solution to establish a strong government. No government will ever eliminate this extremely undesirable tendency of

competitive industry. Although competition is a natural method, along with warfare, it is capable of advantageous replacement by a less wasteful method if such can be found.

It may readily be admitted that competition is an improvement over warfare. In the first place it is far less destructive. There is nothing personal about the conflict. Hatred is therefore absent and the energies of each are instead concentrated on the winning of the desired goal. It is as Adam Smith long ago pointed out, positive in its results. Warfare is, as we saw, negative. Warfare inevitably tends to lessen life: competition may not, for both contestants may be able to win a measure of success without greatly diminishing that of each other. It readily merges into coöperation; as in hunting or fishing, for example, the rivals turn to each other's assistance when the game would otherwise escape. Thus there results a greater variety of development of talent or ability than under warfare. Not alone the destructive but the constructive abilities are largely exercised.

In consequence of all these advantages and because it was the smallest possible departure from the former system of warfare, it was early adopted by society as the proper method of determining superiority of persons and projects. Under simple and uncomplicated social condi-

tions it tends to select the fittest automatically, and this selection results for the time being in increased productivity in industry. It is subject to regulation, in theory at least, which may cut off many of its untoward effects, and it may even be prohibited in particular cases without entirely destroying its efficiency as a principle of social action. It has had a long and varied history as the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

But just as decision by warfare was previously outgrown and discarded in favour of this new method of selection, so competition shows evidences of having seen its most useful days. Nature herself has found a more economical method and is using it in her higher forms of creation. Man as man no longer determines every personal problem by the old method of trial and error that is characteristic of competition. Instead the contest has become representative,—psychical in a word. Man by the use of the imagination and the understanding calculates the probable effect of a proposed action, instead of being under the necessity of performing the action in order to be convinced of its outcome. It is *the decision of selfconscious man* that replaces the outworn method of trial and error. The contest takes place within his mind on the mimic stage of his representative consciousness. Mind reproduces in its micro-

cosm the macrocosm of nature, with distinctly economical results.

For indeed the enormous wastefulness of competition as a regulator of prices is a matter entirely open to our observation. We have only to look about us to note the unnecessary duplication of all sorts of industrial and commercial plants, from railroads whose tracks parallel each other for thousands of miles to corner groceries whose rival stocks of provisions grow stale on the shelves in the efforts of each proprietor to carry "complete lines." Rival establishments keep open long hours lest they lose some little stray business to their competitors, while lightly laden delivery wagons follow each other about over nearly identical routes. The inconvenience and loss of such absurdly stupid lack of social decision is perhaps best seen in such instances as that of the toleration of several rival telephone systems in the same town.

However as everyone at all conversant with the conditions prevailing in the business world well knows, it is in the process of marketing the product that the cost of competition reaches its acme of socially useless expenditure. The prodigal extravagance of competitive advertising needs but to be mentioned, for it is as conspicuous as the advertising itself. And this stupendous social loss is further augmented by

the cost of armies of high paid salesmen under conditions requiring the most lavish expenditure for purposes of demonstration and display. Indeed the retail price of most articles of commerce, not matters of daily necessity, is commonly several times the cost of production, owing to this entirely unnecessary tax. And so far is this evil from the possibility of remedy by further competition that we may reckon that the greater the number of competitors the greater must be the margin of profit on each article, for the fewer the sales for each competitor.

But while we have thus seen that competition is showing no sign of becoming any the less costly it is an undeniable fact that it is becoming increasingly unreliable as a method of selecting the fittest. So many purely adventitious factors have arisen that success in competition now indicates little regarding the capability of the successful competitor. Indeed much of the business competition today is carried on by proxy. Estates are managed by trust companies; a thousand and one agencies agree to carry on each and every kind of business on commission; defunct concerns are actually helped on to their feet by receiverships; and even the fortunes of the insane or criminal have been known to increase during the period of their incarceration. Well may we be able to join in the indictment that "the race

is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all." ²⁴

But even if competition were unerringly efficient in every instance as a selective principle, it would still remain unsatisfactory in the highest degree on account of the unideal grounds on which selection is based. These, except where modified by the principle of decision which indeed tends here and there to enter and claim her own, are rooted solely in the most uninspired economic materialism. The competitive selection of industrial rulers is based solely on their ability to acquire, ethically or otherwise, a fortune. The most revolting personal morality is no bar against eligibility for a commanding position in industry. Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde form no exceptional partnership in modern business practice. Moreover industrial leadership is hereditary. Hence even if the original accumulator of a fortune be a monument of virtue and rectitude, there is no guarantee whatever that his heirs will exhibit like qualities: rather the reverse indeed for the prevalent training for the sons and daughters of millionaires has not

²⁴ Ecclesiastes 9:11.

usually been such as to conduce to moral intrepidity.

But even such men as are selected or allowed to assume leadership through inheritance would hardly initiate such atrocious practices as are common in many portions of the field of business if there were any practicable alternative. The would be honorable business man is compelled to imitate the methods of his most unscrupulous competitors, or go out of business. The result of this condition is that the conduct of many lines of business very often appears to be in the control of fiends. No man however evilly disposed could willingly contrive so many and so maleficent devices of misery and destruction as we find displayed on every hand. Our food markets reek with diseased, dirty and adulterated products of every description. "Cheap and nasty" seems to be the conquering maxim of the successful purveyor of delicacies. Even a trademark often guarantees good quality for a time only that the brand itself may be later exploited in the quest of the all important profits. From wooden nutmegs down to the latest Jordan almonds of sugar-coated peach pits the rule of competition in business amply justifies the warning "*caveat emptor.*"

For profits depend not upon merit but upon

skill in competing. And while the weapons in this indirect warfare may be ability in production, the armor is undeniably secrecy and deception. There is no natural limit to profit except the similar rapacity of actual or potential competitors. Hence the effort to secure these profits and to outwit business antagonists brings out all the chicanery of the competitor's nature. It matters not by what means those with whom one does business are overreached,—whether by greater foresight, accident of the weather, chance turn of the market, manipulation of the same, unprincipled bargaining, or legal quibble,—the result is equally satisfactory, larger profits. Finally we might mention, monopoly prices, intimidation of rivals, secret bargaining with common carriers, etc., for each and all of the means known best to commercial and legal mercenaries must be utilised if one would aspire to leadership under the régime of industrial competition.

Thus competition must give place because it fails almost as much as does warfare to allow scope to the influence of ideals. It is material considerations alone that are of effect in determining which man or measure is "fittest." Like warfare competition is incompetent to evolve the type idealised by man or to develop in the individual man those characteristics demanded for the highest civilisation.

And all these objections absolutely inhere in the very nature of competition, rather than in any abuse to which it is subject. As warfare implies a field strewn with the slain and wounded, so competition implies failures to obtain a livelihood as well as successes. And these failures involve misery and suffering quite as real as that involved in the bloodshed of battle. In any case even if these failures could be made but relative, so long is the contest and so severe is the struggle that it is open to most of the objections of direct warfare. Even if adventitious advantages, such as undeserved "(un-natural) inheritances" were eliminated, and a minimum subsistence income were guaranteed to every defeated competitor, all the objections noted would still apply.

We may note as most significant that competition is entirely abolished in that most closely knit of social groups — the family. The family is indeed the first social unit to foreshow coming social reforms for the reason that it is so well organised as to be well in advance of the other forms. To be entirely consistent the advocates of unlimited competition should allow each member of the family to scramble for the daintiest morsels and the most attractive clothing. It is in this narrow sphere of the home that its chief objection becomes most apparent,

namely, its essentially anti-social character. It is as we have seen motivated strictly by the self-seeking impulses and indeed is seriously interfered with by the altruistic impulses. A boy who is being trained for participation in competitive enterprise should not be led to become too regardful of the feelings or claims of others. He must not be too considerate, too generous, or too open-hearted. The effect of the competitive system is distinctly to discourage the social qualities, for their possession is a distinct disadvantage in the business world.

Moreover, in practice competition constantly points to the advantages of that form of industry which is destined to replace it,—coöperation. For ever and anon the competitors find it to their advantage in this case and that to forget the antagonism of their separate interests and to work together to accomplish some common and not otherwise attainable end. It is constantly being overlooked by the participants that "one's gain is another's loss," when each may gain more by allowing the other to participate in the advantages. This coöperation in turn becomes less occasional and more organised. Thus does the old order contain, as Marx says, the germ of its successor.

Where this transforming process is for any reason long delayed the competition becomes

more and more bitter, and narrowed down to a smaller and smaller number of competitors. Finally the victor over all takes charge of the combined productive factors, and decrees invariably that all competition between them cease thenceforth in the interests of coöperation, except where for peculiar reasons this personal competition will not interfere with effective coöperation in the larger process of production. Under this exception to be sure fall most of the workers under the wage system, yet theirs is a strictly narrowed competition. Workers are allowed to compete in quantity of articles produced under the piece work system, but are not allowed to scramble for the best or the most raw material or for the use of the best machines.

But the next best step in advance, coöperation, is attended with a very considerable change in the alignment of economic and social forces, necessitating a very great amount of readjustment. It is, like the substitution of competition for warfare, only possible if conditioned by a great enlargement of the functions of the state. It requires a strong central authority to direct the now quite comprehensive social organisation. Whereas previously government was negative, merely prescribing the rules of the contest and the penalties for their infraction, it must now become positive, not prescribing the rules of the

contest, but displacing the contest altogether and instead pronouncing the decision which replaces the outcome formerly contested for.

Coöperation in industrial affairs is indeed possible only if supplemented by decision as a means of selection of men and measures. For unlike the formerly employed principles of warfare and competition, coöperation does not automatically select the men who are to administer industry, or the measures which are to be adopted. To be sure these points might be determined by the employment of the principle of chance, as in the selection of jurors by lot and the selection of alternative policies by the toss of a coin; but these crude methods are clearly tending to be replaced, in the first instance by the appointment of specialists and in the second by the careful consideration of the proposed policies. Decision remains then as the only mode of selection proper to coöperation.

If the government is to possess powers so vast it is imperative that its form be such as to render it entirely trustworthy and it may as well be admitted that if such a form cannot be devised then the outlook for the success of socialism is gloomy enough. But after all it is perhaps not too much to expect that a government that is already entrusted with life and death powers over its subjects should not prove unequal to its

trust when allowed to control incomes and prices. Besides, as we have shown earlier, the question is merely the choice between control by the authorised government of the state and control by the unauthorised government of the trusts and labour unions.

It is proposed then to replace competition by a merely representative conflict, which will be destructive of neither time nor energy. It may be asked if under competition the conflict is not already reduced to its smallest proportions, for we must still assume that so long as there are individualities in the world there will be conflicts. To this question we may return an unqualified negative. Nature herself has pointed out the way. Let us observe how this evolution of method has proceeded.

In the beginning evolution worked through physical forces alone. Conditions did not even admit of chemical action, on account of too great heat and possibly lack of pressure due to too great dispersion. Working by the single law of gravitation as a centripetal force, and the law of momentum as a centrifugal force, systems evolved, nebulous and not only inorganic but inchoate so far as chemical composition was concerned. Possessing none but physical properties, so simple were the resulting systems that they could be computed mathematically. But after a time

differentiation on the basis of the relation of mass to extension could not but become apparent. Here we have the basis on which chemical affinity can begin to work. Contiguity of similar atoms bred molecules by natural segregation as the most elementary of chemical processes. These molecules assumed definite characteristics, each its own. While still subject to elementary physical laws matter began to assume other capabilities and characteristics which were destined to quite overshadow the former ones.

As chemical reactions became ever more complicated there became manifest a new or hitherto inoperative principle, life. At first barely self-sustaining and passive, by successive stages it proceeds progressively from the stage of passive selection to that of active seeking, still proceeding to work out its problems empirically and thus to reach its solutions by the mechanical method of trial and error. At last in the human being is born the purely psychical faculty of representation. And here on the mimic field of representative consciousness are fought out all nature's battles in the comparatively economical and indestructive fashion of cogitation. Instead of the former method of blind nature which continually tries, and rejects the unsuccessful individuals of her experimentation, man's reason forecasts and predicts the result and thus avoids

the necessity of the wastefulness and pain of nature's method. It is this representative faculty and its method that the socialist seeks to substitute for the natural competition of the present system.

The momentousness of this charge can hardly be overestimated. Nothing like it has taken place in historical times, for history practically begins with the establishment of competition except as between nations. It is to society what the birth of abstraction is to the individual. It is not that the selective struggle has been abolished. That can never be so long as individuality persists, but the struggle has been lifted to a higher plane. It is no longer physical but psychical. The arms have changed: first the sword is beaten into the plowshare, then the pen becomes mightier than either. The sword is indeed the appropriate symbol of warfare, the plowshare of competition, the pen of the new era of discussion now coming into view. A mighty debate replaces the turmoil of the competitive struggle. The worth of each plan is subjected to the fire of opposing opinions expressed as publicly as may be. Then the decision is rendered by the judges. It is impossible to get unprejudiced and disinterested judges. Consequently the only jury that can be trusted to render a decision fairly is the people them-

selves — the whole people. No considerable class that is competent to judge of the merits of the questions debated should be excluded from this jury, for the widest experience is demanded to properly interpret the arguments.

Not all are necessarily debaters, but all those possessing ideas will inevitably be such. And it is accordingly seen upon a little reflection that it is ideas rather than people that can in such circumstances be said to rule. So far is socialism from being that form of government known as the ochlocracy, government by the mob, that it would undoubtedly be its direct opposite. In a sense rule will never be to the many. The few will always possess the superior minds and will inevitably assume the reins of government, if not ostensibly, then still as the power behind the throne. But this postulate of political science comes to the aid rather than to the discomfiture of socialism rightly understood. For as we have seen the essence of socialism in so far as method is concerned is the substitution of decision for competition. If this decision is of social rather than of individual or class character then the essential condition of socialism is met even if the propositions themselves originate from the few. It matters not by whom the ideas are proposed. Not their sponsors but their upholders are truly in power.

The jury is thus in the background. It is instructed by the common sense of the people at large. From this sense there is and ought to be no appeal. Its alternative is despotism, the judgment of the few, almost inevitably not disinterested. The evidence must be presented at such length that each voter shall become fully informed of the various claims of each measure for consideration. Therefore the widest publicity must be given to all matters which are to come up for decision. All opinions must be heard if only to be rejected. It is no accident that the socialist always and everywhere is the foremost advocate of freedom of speech or that the first and perhaps the only fundamental demand of the socialist society is that the opportunity to openly declare convictions on any topic whatever shall be in no wise abridged.

It can hardly be claimed that the decisions of this jury will in every particular instance be entirely just. The perfection of society awaits on the perfection of the individual. But it must almost inevitably happen that on any question whatsoever the majority of the voters or at least those holding the balance of power will be those not directly interested. And it seems altogether unlikely that any particular class of workers could be permanently underpaid or ill treated so long as other trades were favoured, for as-

surely transfer to other trades would never be denied so long as a majority of those who are responsible for the laws might feel the necessity of leaving the doors open. While workers cease to compete for jobs, the jobs themselves continue to compete for workers. Thus the socialist method of decision is seen to be preferable to the method of competition in practically every particular.

If we consider the method of the selection of men and measures further from the side of its historical genesis, we find it to be broadly as follows: Warfare is the normal state of social relations among savages. Man's predatory activity in capturing food was naturally enough transferred to its seizure from other men. Communism within the tribe relegated this exploitation to that of other tribes without the commune. It is to be noted that a limited communism was thus the first peace that obtained among men. This communism easily provided for a rude division of labour, especially as between the sexes.

Thus man lived in association with his fellows and at peace, though it is not hard to believe that the power of the strongest led to a ready acquiescence to his demands. Bickerings continually arising, it became the habit to refer all disputes to the strongest, who thus became king. Habit is strong especially where mentality is weak.

It led the subjects to the lodge of the king even after his death. Relationship was recognised in their allegiance to his eldest son. Consequently seldom was his strength questioned or tested. This remarkable power of habit may perhaps account for much of the quiescence of today. The rich are supposed to be the owners of the vast wealth which they possess.

The partial abolition of warfare within the tribe allowed the peaceful to gain standing and holdings. As these grew relatively numerous and their real worth to the tribe became more or less recognised by all, their opinions and interests began to receive consideration as against those of the warriors. Property rights were instituted. Here was the foundation for an entirely new sort of struggle for supremacy. From the older sort of direct physical hand to hand combat, we pass to a subtle impersonal struggle by indirect means. Who shall take possession of the facilities by which all must live? For the possible amount of property in such facilities is limited by nature. There may be as good fish in the sea as ever were caught, but the same could hardly be said of the small river or lake. The plumpest nuts may be at the top of the tree, but once these are gathered there remain only the inferior fruits. The best hunting ground, the patches of most succulent berries, the most tooth-

some game,—all are limited in quantity by nature. If not in direct combat, man must still struggle with man. Strife arose over the possession of these facilities. Peace could only be obtained by holding them in common. Thus the commune is the first form of peaceful tribal property relation. Again this advanced form of control breeds its own undoing. For not only does the military order survive with its king and army, but since all civilisation demands a peace preserving power, the councils, etc., tended to recognise the claim of the productive occupier of the land as perpetual, and the people acquiesce. From limited tenure arises the idea of permanent right, and finally of “fee-simple.”

Thus there arose a scramble for choice locations and large holdings, with an appetite for preferment under the law, which is another permanent heritage to us from the past. But courts were instituted, constitutions and statute laws established, and finally all have become equal in the sight of the law. Is this promise of peaceful relations to be realised? No, not only has every sort of peaceful relationship been broken in upon by foreign wars, but even considering the local situation alone, each community has developed within itself the seeds of conflict. The equitable distribution of land and natural facilities for life has become through one cause and another

grossly inequitable, and most important of all, the possession of capital or credit has become the *sine qua non* of successful competition. The inventions of science, which at first tended to make the peasant equal to the noble, now threaten to provide the modern noble with the means of permanently enslaving the peasant. Success in competition is now due to a thousand factors, of which often the least is merit.

Everything points to the displacement of competition as a matter of economic and moral necessity. It is crude, wasteful, awkward and unreliable. A more direct means of determining survival value and the lines of future development is imperatively demanded. Even the changing manners as they reflect the prevailing social system, presage the downfall of competition.

During the era of force we may well believe that etiquette demanded that a truce be proclaimed and observed in company. Thus knights pass by on the right, the shield being held on the left arm. The helmet was removed to the lady or even to the liege as a token of submission. The smile betokened the lack of serious hostile intentions. Even the hand clasp may have been adopted as a mutual surrender of the power to harm, while the giving of the left hand was for obvious reasons a deadly offence.

Passing to the competitive period, we find the giving of gifts and particularly of entertainments such as the banquet the height of social etiquette. Although much of the etiquette of previous periods is retained in form, much has been added of more vital meaning. Competition is restrained by law in the case of marriage. The betrothed couple are no longer under its sway. It is eliminated in the family in economic affairs: noticeably in the case of table manners. At receptions to rush for seats is not exactly good form, whatever practice may still be recognised as proper in the street car. Thus we see competition ideally abolished, at first in the more limited sphere of the home, then in the larger circle of good company. Since etiquette represents nothing so much as ideal conduct under ideal surroundings it is most significant that we find it already prohibiting all forms of serious competition.

The coming form of selection which is to replace competition has been seen to be decision. It remains but to state briefly by whom the decisions are to be rendered and something regarding their probable nature in the principal spheres of human activity and interest.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIALIST AIMS AND IDEALS

WE have first to consider what form of government the people really desire,— what form would be *reached by* rather than *required for* popular decision. It can hardly be doubted that the rank and file would choose the purest democracy. At least until the “despotism of the masses” was grievously felt by the masses themselves, it is altogether probable that they would insist upon virtually direct rule by themselves. “Consciousness of kind” is a sufficient reason why the masses would trust only the masses in preference to rulers supposed to be committed to their interests.

Thus socialism not only requires but invokes the purest democracy in effect if not in form. And socialists criticise our present attempts to do democratic work with republican machinery. For this requirement leads to several demands which we should recognise in this connection. For instance, if the people are to govern directly it is necessary that the widest publicity prevail. Even the crudest and wildest ideas must have an

opportunity to be heard in full, if only to be repudiated. It is not accidental that socialists have everywhere always stood for free public expression of opinion, even of that of their worst enemies, the anarchists. Public debate is among them the most highly appreciated form of entertainment. Nor is it an accident that "no two socialists agree." Independence of judgment is the prized possession of every socialist. Their political platforms are decided upon in caucuses in which every member is privileged to suggest planks and amendments and to secure their adoption if they can prove them acceptable. And then the whole platform is submitted piecemeal to a referendum vote of all party members.

The socialist party is organised not from the top down but from the bottom up. Nominations are by petition and informal ballot. Each individual member expresses his decision in regard to the availability of any suggested candidate. The central organisation merely collates and canvasses the vote. In other parties the convention usually selects the candidate without instructions.

Politics has always been the art of defending a privileged class against the encroachments of the exploited. Early political systems spring directly from either religious or military power. Later systems are based upon vested rights —

economic rights in the main, and those the rights of property. Our constitution shows regard for the rights of property at least equal to that for the rights of persons. Indeed it was freely predicted that property would not be safe in a republic. So far, however, property has received more than due consideration. How much greater will be the popular support of the real rights of private property when all feel personally interested in the matter? Under socialism however we may be assured that property would receive no direct consideration. Only as it ministers to the needs of man would property possess "rights."

"Socialism is science applied to all realms of human activity,"²⁵ says Bebel. In fulfilling this ideal, socialism must apply practically the findings of political science. Scientific political adjustment requires first of all that the deciding power should be vested in those who would be unfavourably affected by a wrong decision. The fighting male population is the element worst affected by a wrongful decision in favour of war. The chief argument for allowing them to vote has in the past been this liability. Let no man and no class be forced into war. Women may be most affected by loose marriage laws. The ignorant may be most abused through fraudulent

²⁵ *Woman and Socialism*, p. 500.

advertisements; the reputable by slander, etc. But since each class must submit its proposals to a tribunal including a preponderating element of those not directly concerned, at no time would any small class be able to override the whole scientifically organised political unit.

A majority vote as a requirement to pass legislation would seemingly be a sufficient check on class domination. No class is in the majority. A majority can be obtained only by an advocacy of general wants and needs. If desirable any other proportion for the enactment of laws, such as three-fourths, might be required instead. The majority rule was chosen to indicate and foreshadow the probable result of a physical contest. Considering the increasingly large proportion of non-combatants, it may be that the proportion required could safely be placed higher.

It may be noted that in any case exercise of democracy is bound to result in a continual kneading of society. This follows from the fact that only those who are especially privileged are satisfied with conditions as they are. All others have something to gain by the overthrow of the privileged. And since those who hold the balance of power can not command the support of those above them in thus bringing about the overthrow of such privilege as has grown up, they must needs appeal to those below. The lat-

ter will respond only if it is made worth their while. Hence they may count on the support of the middle class in general. It is only when the limited few, so privileged as to be more likely to lose than to gain through any upheaval, have been in power that a static condition of society has prevailed. This can be clearly seen to follow from the fact that *all* the less privileged portion of society may gain at the expense of the more favoured, while only a portion of the more favoured will be at any time anxious to maintain the *status quo*. As Marx has shown, it is this cause that has brought about the extension of the franchise to the less favoured classes, and it is this cause which will continually induce the less favoured portion of the privileged to seek the support of the proletariat.

Democracy is the necessary correlary to socialism, because any opportunity for rule by the man who possesses an advantage will but allow him to increase that advantage. Thus arose laws favouring vested rights. Man has ever tried to legislate himself into a position of artificial advantage over others. If however all men have equal opportunity to secure legislation, and each must submit his legislative propositions to all, no further safeguard for the preservation of individual liberty could be devised. None, we are convinced, will be needed.

The betterment in the condition of the poor under socialism follows from the probable attempt on the part of the majority to better *their* condition. Those below the average would naturally utilise the government as an agency to raise themselves up to the standing of others. There can never long be a majority far below the average under a real democracy. In this sense alone socialism is a levelling process. It is a levelling upward, not downward. As long as a majority felt that there was anything to be gained by a change in industrial relations, that change would be effected by legislation. It is even conceivable that if a majority persisted in idleness or unproductiveness, the minority of the workers might be mulcted of the fruits of their toil. Although it is extremely improbable that this would under any conditions reach anything like the proportions of the capitalistic exploitation of the present, it might be sufficient to prevent the success of socialism among a barbarous people who had never been schooled into habits of regular exertion, especially in view of their lower productive capacity. But among civilised peoples, a drone or an aggregation of drones could not fail to be as quickly felt to be a menace to the body industrial as is a similar criminal aggregation to the body politic. It is probable

that man has advanced nearly if not quite as far in habits of industry as in habits of orderliness. Thus he is today approximately as well fitted to govern himself industrially as he is to govern himself politically.

Would socialism abolish classes such as are at present interested in a selfish way in the results of elections? Probably not entirely. It is likely that the workmen in one occupation might still aim at advantage over those of other industries. But with the freedom of movement of these fellow workers, whom they could not debar from entering any favoured occupation, their advantage would be fleeting at most. It is more likely that it could not be obtained at all, for the larger number of workers of other industries neutral to the contention, would serve as a system of checks and balances against any group legislation.

In general the aims of the socialistic society might be presumed to be such as the less favoured part of the people would find to their advantage. For the first time the underlings would have a decisive voice in affairs industrial as they already have in things political. And as the physically weak or peacefully inclined have instituted governmental restraints upon those who are stronger or more aggressive, so we might expect would

the less successful industrially institute restraints upon those who would exploit their need.

Would this rule prove inimical to the gifted? It seems highly probable that there would be a considerable levelling process, so far as material rewards are concerned. Since the common people would be in a clear majority they could, if they chose, give themselves the higher rewards, except that they could not slight genius to the extent of making its payment less than the individual genius was willing to earn in common pursuits. Further, scarcity talents could as at present command whatever their possessor chose to demand, within the commonly felt limits of their value to the society.

We cannot believe that the people would all at once lose their tendency to hero worship either. Those who accomplished most for the good of mankind would undoubtedly always receive the rewards of a grateful society. In the case of men of talent unwilling to serve without extra compensation it will be easy to persuade the people to furnish the greater reward. They will simply not be left to struggle with each other for that reward as at present.

The main disadvantage of the competitive system from the point of view of sociological and economic idealism, is that there are two alterna-

tive ways to achieve success. First to wrest it from nature to the benefit of mankind, second to wrest it from the accumulation of those who have previously wrested it from nature. If only the first of these alternatives were possible we could not complain so bitterly of the competitive system, although it would still remain indirect warfare and subject to all the disadvantages of the latter. But the second method of acquisition is resorted to with frequency corresponding to the increasing surplus above the subsistence demands of the producers. This iniquitous practice cannot possibly be abolished under capitalism. The very rewards distinctive of capitalism — rent, interest, and profits — are all unearned; or worse, earned at the expense of others.

Interest, for example, lays tribute upon him who would compete on equal terms with those who have the obvious advantages implied in the possession of capital. Rent is a like tribute upon him who would partake of equal natural advantages with those who are well provided with the same. Profit is the direct result of depriving others of the full fruits of their production. Profit is the most indefensible of the three, for it is achieved through competition as is success in a battle of direct warfare, without any regard whatever for those killed or maimed in the contest: with this difference, that whereas in

direct warfare each is obliged to consider the loss to his own forces, under competition all the labour world is the recruiting ground for the forces on both sides, neither being in the least obliged to husband his resources, but resting secure in the consciousness that every man who falls on his side is one less possible recruit for the enemy.

That a free for all contest of this sort should be tolerated by the mere pawns in the game is unthinkable, once they understand the nature of the conflict and possess the means to bring it to an end. The first would necessarily be assured before socialism could even triumph at the polls, while the victory of socialism would itself provide the second.

There prevails at present in the industrial world the purest anarchy, unrecognised as similar to civic anarchy only because its method of conflict is indirect and largely impersonal. When a worker's wages are reduced he does not realise that he is being pitted in endurance against another far-off worker, whose wages are at the same time being reduced by the business rival of his own employer. But such, as we know, is the case. Whichever wins, each worker is certain to be forced down as far as possible, and competition between him and his fellows is

certain to make the limit only that of endurance.

The suicidal nature of this conflict is sure to be apparent even before socialism can be successful as a political power. It is extremely unlikely that it will be forgotten once industrial democracy is established. Hence we are correct in predicting that socialism will utterly abolish competition. We have already seen how decision will replace it. Economic conditions will be under artificial regulation on ideal grounds.

Equality, that *sine qua non* of the extreme individualist, has been set up by some socialists as the aim of ideal social development. But it is no essential element of the socialist programme. Only in the form of equal opportunities and that degree of equality of compensation which the lower half of society deem just and expedient will equality prevail in the socialist community. Its real stronghold is in individualism, as claimed by its sponsors, the pre-revolutionists of the 18th Century. The reason of this is not far to seek.

A state of equilibrium under individualism must imply the absence of unadapted inferiors who are being "survived." All must be fittest. The struggle goes on until this point is determined and enforced by the elimination of the

vanquished. But unless there is to be one single sole survivor, there must be a community of strictly equal and so evenly balanced survivors. The battle between these must be a draw. This is possible only on the assumption of equality. Under individualism we are driven to choose between unending struggle and an absolute equality. Humanitarianism is demanding the cessation of the struggle. It is small wonder that the philosophers of individualism have seen the solution of this state of conflict solely in equality. On the other hand, if equality is to prevail under socialism it is because of no necessity in the case, but because of its appeal to idealism — a point not by any means as yet determined.

Is there an ideal of further human evolution? We may reply that each of us has an ideal for his own immediate descendants. Hence the ideal is definite enough; it remains only to make it comprehensive, all inclusive. It is comparatively easy to state this ideal in negative terms, to say what we do not want. In general we are not pleased with those characteristics which we group together as degenerate. We certainly do not want those with physical infirmity. Likewise we condemn those whose moral qualities are anti-social. Intellectual weakness is seldom defended.

When we turn to the positive statement of

ideal eugenics, we find more possibilities of disagreement. For while some admire the meekness which is to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, others prefer the practical shrewdness which leads to personal success at the expense of others. The latter preference is an instinct that finds encouragement in the present constitution of society. We should be troubled with regressions to it in any society, for it dates back to more primitive times. Meanwhile we can note that those whom we deem most idealistic at the present time are unmistakably on the side of the Christian ideal. It seems likely that a large majority can and will accept this as their ideal, as soon as the state of social conditions renders it anything but an encumbrance in the struggle for existence of the individual.

It cannot be too emphatically stated that there will be no settled iron-clad institutions under socialism. Socialism is science applied to all the affairs of life, says Bebel. Increasing knowledge requires constant readaptation. Hence there will be no demand on the part of society that morality crystalise into a system of established dogmas. And as with morality so with religion. A state religion consisting of a prescribed creed expressed in a ceremonial and insisting upon an adherence to orthodox doctrine would certainly be done away with by socialism.

and to this extent the criticism that "socialism is opposed to religion" is justified.

It is even possible that the status of religious belief might be affected in a more positive manner. The religious element in socialism is strong. Wherever aspirations after an un-realizable perfection are given free expression, there is pure religion and undefiled. This is an aspect of socialism itself. But it must be carefully distinguished from any particular demand of socialism or the demands of any particular socialist. Socialism gives full play to the religious impulses, but socialism is not itself a religion except to those incapable of philosophic vision. Once realised, the socialist plan of society will offer the form but not the substance of all future progressive aspirations. Hence we find that under socialism religion itself is for the first time really free, not the mere instrument of economic forces as so universally today. It will always remain the complement of the actual conditions of life to be sure, but free to exercise an independent, uncoerced influence upon the course of events. The battle between economic forces and religion, disguised as theology against science, will end in the verging of science into religion, when the economic force behind theology is withdrawn and philosophy is permitted to perform her peacemaking office of mediation. Religion

will then become but a plastic body of individual aspirations, beliefs and principles of conduct, unbounded by anything except the nature of the believer. Revealed religion will be subject to new constructions, and natural religion to new discoveries.

Religion thus becomes the embodiment of the subjective individual ideal,—a truly democratic interpretation of the universe,—unrestrained by the consideration of objective material ends, the pure aspiration of the soul. At present we have but the efforts of oppressed humanity to ameliorate its sufferings by the conjured up vision of rest, happiness, recreation, etc., elsewhere than in this work-a-day world. No practical application of these aspirations is considered in good form; they are simply the means of *catharsis* of the justice-demanding instincts. To be sure those portions of Christian doctrine inciting to self-sacrifice are well thought of. They fit in admirably with the rôle of the proletariat in capitalist society. But who ever heard of self-abnegation on the part of the captain of industry? His character does not fit the part, and is not expected to. We must uphold the present system even in our religion.

It is for freedom in religious practice that many turn to socialism. Tired of a theology that is enlisted in the support of institutions of privi-

lege, desiring to adopt a faith actually fostering the growth of character, and despairing of a satisfactory voicing of their own spiritual aspirations from a subsidised pulpit, they turn to the economic freedom of socialism as the necessary basis for the development of a religion which will answer to the demands of their natures. This religion, uncorrupted by the influence of sordid motives, will be at the disposal of the masses, supported democratically. It would even be safe to subsidise religious inquiry under such a society. No class would be powerful enough to subvert such a research.

But religion under socialism will be even more than at present the private concern of the individual. During the Feudal régime the rulers were deeply concerned with the religious beliefs of their subjects, for upon the efficacy of these beliefs depended the attitude of the subjects toward prevailing institutions. Again during monarchical reign the ruler finds the moral support or at least the sanction of religious beliefs the necessary condition of a submissive people. Even a republic, if the property possessing class is to rule, must be supported by the religious views of its citizens. Otherwise they will become more self-seeking with disastrous consequences to the House of Have. The socialist society alone can afford to tolerate any form of

belief. No requirements of religious faith are necessary, for each individual is free to exert his own influence in his own behalf as well as in any direction that his ideals may prompt. Having no classes, socialism has no irrational principles to uphold, no vested rights to be protected, no cherished institutions to be maintained. All is fluid, plastic. The reformer, the non-conformist, is welcome. He may make his influence tell to the extent of its natural appeal. The idea is as ever under socialism, treated as an impersonal thing. It is considered apart from its sponsor. This is spiritual freedom.

We have seen that socialism aims to free the ideals of its citizens from the domination of the material demands of economic necessity, in the various spheres where ideals are normally active. In establishing a new material basis for society it is inevitable that the whole superstructure shall assume new forms and tendencies. And in the case of "the culture demanded by modern civilisation" this can hardly have any other effect than to free the entire realm of the ideal culture from the domination hitherto imposed upon it from below. That culture which is for the immense majority "a mere training to act as a machine" will be replaced by a culture whose nature is determined from above and whose characteristic will be such as appeals to

the free spirit of humanity. The "materialistic conception of history," like the "class struggle" — both discovered or at least pointed out by the socialists — will be eventually relegated to a past era by the same agency which has been responsible for their recognition. "It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

CONCLUSION

WE have seen that socialism is increasingly called for by forces that are themselves augmenting in a geometric ratio. We have seen that it is a concrete application of forces and demands which the sociologist subjectively recognises as embodying his most cherished ideals for human society. We have noted that it is part of a general historical evolution which we can hardly expect to be either reversed or arrested.

Amidst all its diversities, which but betray the many-sidedness of its origin, we have found a general unity of purpose and method. The purpose is nothing less than the control of the further progress of civilisation by man, and the method that of decision in place of warfare or competition. Both are in line with historical evolution as it has progressed hitherto, and each has for a long time been operative in the sphere of the individual. Their extension to society is the coming of socialism.

The advent of socialism cannot be prevented, though it can be retarded or hastened, for it is the next step in the evolution of society. In the

increasing attention given to schooling and eugenics we see the universal consciousness of this. At most if the particular plan adopted in any attempted socialist state were to fail to attain that intelligent decision by which it should be marked, it could hardly revert to anything worse than our present competitive system. The world moves rapidly since universal communication has been established and lost trails would quickly be recovered. We can not remain stationary.

The weaknesses of socialism are the weaknesses of democracy. It cannot be denied that such exist nor that they would be in some respects accentuated under socialism, though in other respects they might be minimised. First steps are always perilous, as much for the self-directing society as for the self-directing individual. But society must accept the responsibilities of maturity no less than the individual. The tow-lines of natural selection are already cast off, and as the socialist state gathers headway we can only hope that she will answer to the helm.

The intelligence that sits in the pilot house is social selfconsciousness. Never again having once attained the knowledge of good and evil can humanity return to the blissful ignorance of a reliance upon natural environment and a de-

pendence upon natural selection. The future of human society is delivered over into the direction of man himself. May he prove equal to the responsibility which thus devolves upon him.

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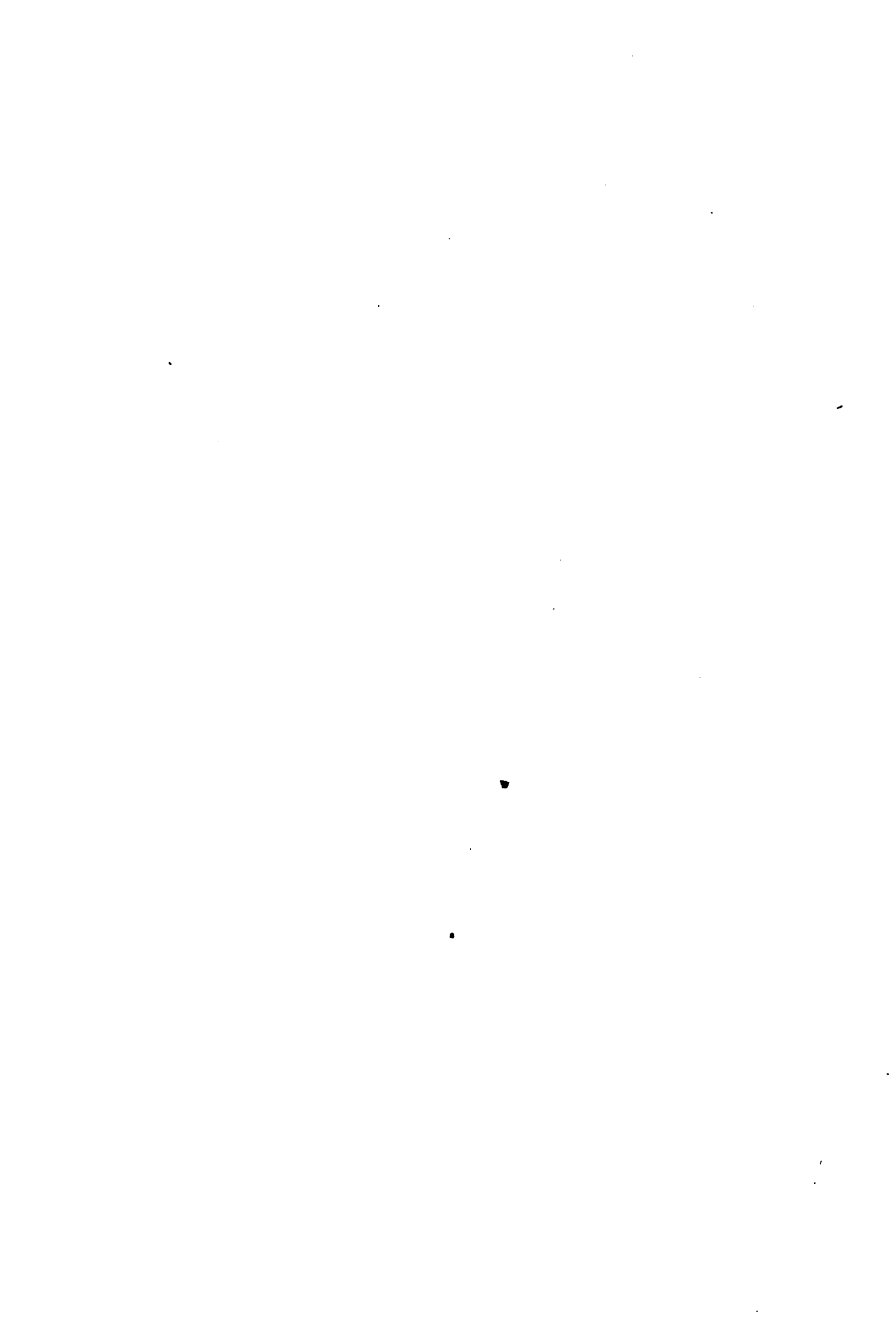
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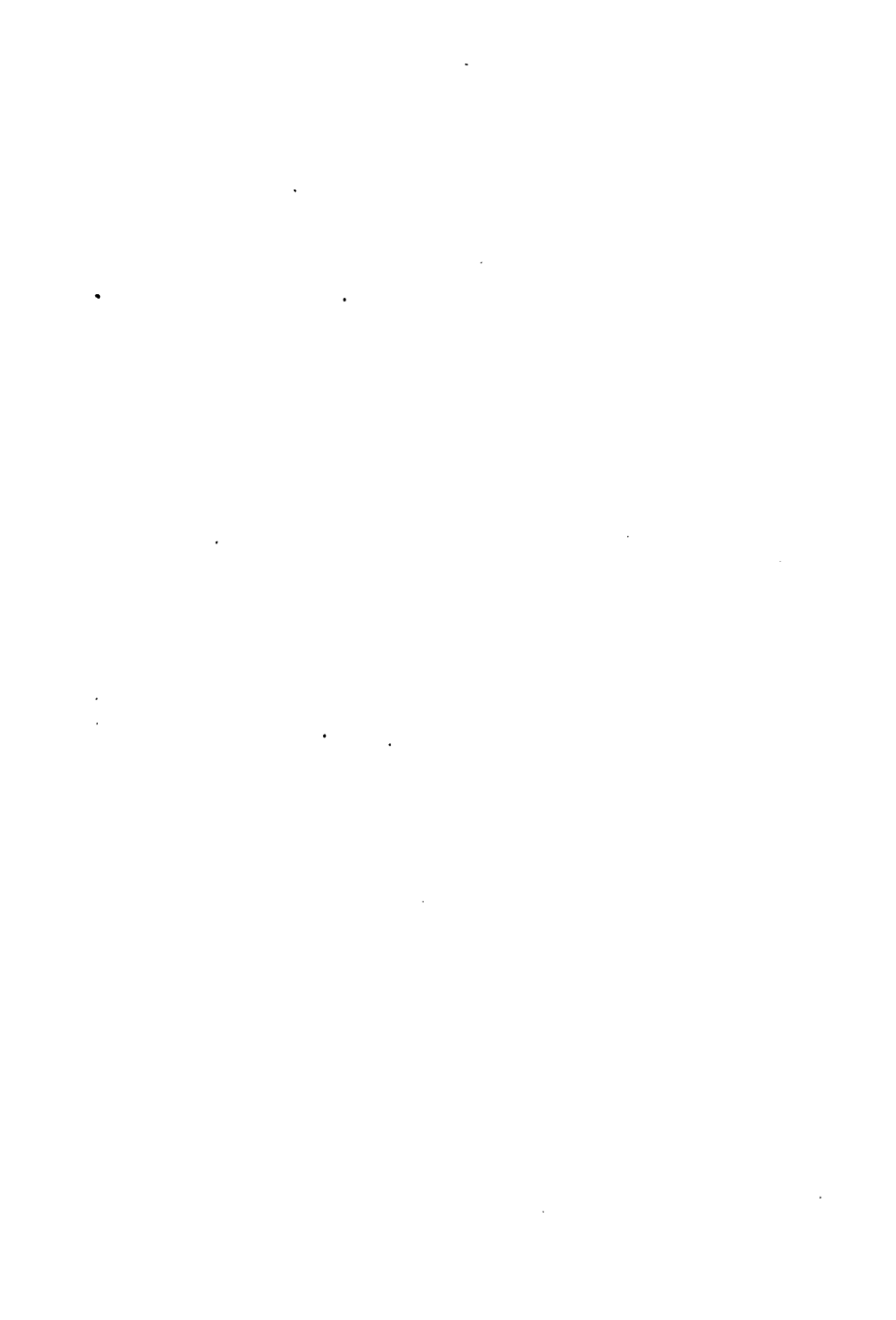
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